



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Representations of Migrant Workers in the Chinese Evening Newspapers

By Cui Ying



Name of degree: PhD

The University of Edinburgh

Year of presentation: 2014

Abstract

The media plays a crucial role in framing social issues, and it decides whether and how these issues become social problems of wider public concern. This study offers a detailed analysis of this process with regard to the reporting of issues related to migrant workers over the last two decades in Chinese evening newspapers. Using data from evening newspapers in Jinan, a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis, and discourse analysis are used to explore how these representations have changed.

The findings show that, contrary to the previous studies which found that representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers tended to be mainly negative, portrayals of migrant workers, in reality, are more dynamic and complex. Actually, positive reports about migrant workers have dominated some evening newspapers. Using a large number of interviews with senior management staff and journalists, this study also illuminates the reasons for the changing representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers, which are the result of the interaction of politics, market forces and professional practice of Chinese journalists.

Declaration of originality:

I, Cui Ying, declare that the work presented in the PhD thesis is my own and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification:

Signed:

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful for the guidance, advice and inspiration that I have received from my supervisors, Dr Daniel Clegg and Professor Natascha Gentz, both of whom have been very thoughtful and supportive at every stage of this research. Daniel is so kind and patient, and has tolerated many of my stupid questions. Professor Natascha is a real expert on Chinese media, and she always leads me into a new perspective to look at Chinese issues. I would also like to acknowledge the supervision that I received in the early stages of this research from Professor Jochen Clasen, who gave me a lot of wise suggestions on the direction of this research. I am grateful to Dr Nick Prior, who encouraged me to film my fieldwork, and Mrs Elizabeth Leith, who helped me with the final proofreading. I would like to give a special thanks to my examiners, Dr Ingela Naumann and Dr Qing Cao who gave me a lot of suggestions to improve my thesis.

Significant thanks are, of course, due to all of the interviewees who trusted me and participated in this research. Without them, this thesis would not exist. I would also like to express my gratefulness to Dr Min Zhao, who has provided emotional and intellectual support over the past 4 years.

The greatest credit should be given to my husband, Nick Cross, who witnessed every progress of this research: You are a gift from God to me, and I feel so lucky that I have you in my life.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my father, who had never said that he loved me in words, who had always been proud of me, who planned to attend my graduation ceremony, but who died 4 months before I submitted this thesis.

Additional

During my field work, I followed Sun Hua, an award-winning investigative journalist at the Jinan Times, observing and filming how he works under the multiple forces bearing on him. Due to the complexity and controversy of this research method, this set of data was not used in this thesis, but made into a 30 minute documentary film, for the Al Jazeera network. This documentary film is called “Balancing a Dream”, and it was first broadcasted in May, 2012 and re-broadcasted in October, 2012 by Al Jazeera English. This film was also screened in UK, at the London based media club “Frontline” on 19 July 2013.

“Balancing a Dream” is a by-product of this research, which can be viewed as a visual reference to this thesis. In parallel with the research focus in this thesis, it sheds light on how a local Chinese journalist worked in his own way under the political pressure and the pressure from the market forces to realise his professional dream.

Table of Contents:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter 1 Introduction | 12 |
| 1.1 Brief Background | 12 |
| 1.2 Motives and Goals | 14 |
| 1.3 The Gap in the Current Literature | 15 |
| 1.4 Contributions of the Present Study | 16 |
| 1.5 Terminology | 17 |
| 1.6 Problems and Limitations | 21 |
| 1.7 Ethical Issues in this Research | 23 |
| 1.8 Thesis Structure | 23 |
| Chapter 2 Research Background | 27 |
| 2.1 Issues Concerning Migrant Workers in Contemporary China | 28 |
| 2.1.1 Labour Migration and the Contribution of Migrants | 28 |
| 2.1.2 Housing, Labour Disputes and Social Welfare | 32 |
| 2.1.3 Family Separation | 35 |
| 2.1.4 A Threat to Urban Society? | 37 |
| 2.1.5 Policies, Organizations and Migrant Workers | 39 |
| 2.2 Chinese Evening Newspapers in the Transition Era | 42 |
| 2.2.1 Rapid Growth of Evening Newspapers | 42 |
| 2.2.2 Furthering the Party's Agenda | 44 |
| 2.2.3 Income from Advertisements | 46 |
| 2.2.4 Dual Objectives of Evening Newspapers | 47 |
| 2.2.5 Corruption in Journalism | 49 |
| 2.2.6 Political Constraints on Freedom of Content | 51 |
| 2.3 Concluding Remarks | 53 |
| Chapter 3 Literature Review | 54 |
| 3.1 Media Representation of Social Issues | 55 |
| 3.2 Portrayal of Migrant Workers in the Chinese Evening Newspapers | 58 |
| 3.3 Main Factors that Shape the Reports | 60 |
| in the Chinese Evening Newspapers | 60 |
| 3.3.1 Political Influence | 60 |
| 3.3.1.1 Political Obligations of the Media | 61 |
| 3.3.1.2 Mass-line Journalism | 62 |
| 3.3.1.3 Contributing to a Harmonious Society? | 65 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 3.3.1.4 A Public Relation Function for the Party | 68 |
| 3.3.1.5 The Role of Propaganda | 70 |
| 3.3.2 The Influence of Market Forces on the Content of Papers | 71 |
| 3.3.2.1 From “Bad News” to Human Interest Stories | 71 |
| 3.3.2.2 Classified Advertising and Migrant Worker Readers | 74 |
| 3.3.2.3 The Influence of Homogenized Competition on Content | 76 |
| 3.3.3 Professional Practices of Chinese Journalists | 78 |
| 3.3.3.1 Watchdog Journalism | 79 |
| 3.3.3.2 The Role of Reports in Helping Socially Disadvantaged People | 81 81 |
| 3.4 Concluding Remarks | 83 |
| Chapter 4 Methodology | 86 |
| 4.1 Aims and Research Choices | 86 |
| 4.2 Data Collection Methods | 87 |
| 4.2.1 A Case Study: Four Evening Newspapers in Jinan | 87 |
| 4.2.2 In-depth Interviews | 93 |
| 4.3 Analysis Techniques | 98 |
| 4.3.1 Newspaper Content Analysis | 98 |
| 4.3.2 Newspaper Discourse Analysis | 100 |
| 4.3.3 Thematic Content Analysis | 102 |
| 4.4 Summary of Interview Data and the Process of Analysis | 103 |
| 4.5 Case Study in Jinan and Its Generalisability | 104 |
| 4.6 Limitations | 105 |
| 4.7 Concluding Remarks | 107 |
| Chapter 5 The Changing Balance of Negative and Positive Reports | 108 |
| 5.1 Selection of Reports For Analysis | 108 |
| 5.2 Classification of the Selected Reports | 111 |
| 5.3 Proportions of Positive vs Negative Reports | 111 |
| 5.4 Concluding Remarks | 115 |
| Chapter 6 Analysis of Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers | 116 |
| 6.1 Meanings of Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers | 117 |
| 6.1.1 Terms Based on Social Class | 118 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 6.1.2 Terms Based on Geographic Origins | 123 |
| 6.1.3 Terms Based on Combinations of Two Classes | 126 |
| 6.2 The Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers and Their Children | 129 |
| 6.2.1 Changes to the Most Frequently Used Terms | 129 |
| 6.2.2 The Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers and Their Children | 136 |
| 6.2.3 Full Real Names and Pseudonyms | 140 |
| 6.3 The Reasons for the Changes in the Terms Used | 144 |
| 6.3.1 The Influence of Formulation | 144 |
| 6.3.2 The Influence of Humanistic Concern | 146 |
| 6.3.3 The Influence of Journalism Ethical Standards in Journalism | 148 |
| 6.4 Concluding Remarks | 149 |
| Chapter 7 Reports on Criminal Offences and Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers | 150 |
| 7.1 Selection of Themes | 150 |
| 7.1.1 Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers | 152 |
| 7.1.2 Criminal Offences by Migrant Workers | 153 |
| 7.2 Analytical framework | 155 |
| 7.2.1 Reporting the Causes | 155 |
| 7.2.2 Linguistic Analysis | 157 |
| 7.2.3 “Enfranchised” or “Voiceless” | 158 |
| 7.2.4 Sources of News | 159 |
| 7.2.5 Visual Analysis | 161 |
| 7.2.6 The Public Sector in the Reports | 162 |
| 7.3 The Presence of Migrant Workers in the Themed Reports | 163 |
| 7.4.1 From Subjective Judgements to Critical Analysis | 164 |
| 7.4.2 Changes in Use of Language | 169 |
| 7.4.3 From Voiceless to Speaking for Themselves | 174 |
| 7.4.4 From Official News Sources to News Hotlines | 175 |
| 7.4.5 Analysis of Images about Crime and Accidents | 176 |
| 7.4.6 The Portrayal of Authorities in the Reports | 185 |
| 7.5 Concluding Remarks | 186 |
| Chapter 8 The Reasons for Changing Representations | 188 |
| 8.1 How Politics Influences Reports about Migrant Workers | 188 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 8.1.1 “Changing Angles” Reports | 189 |
| 8.1.2 Relationship Between journalists and the Government | 193 |
| 8.1.3 The Political Awareness of Journalists | 198 |
| 8.1.4 The “Weakening” of Media Control | 202 |
| 8.2 How Market Forces Influence Reports about Migrant Workers | 206 |
| 8.2.1 Protecting Advertising Clients | 206 |
| 8.2.2 Branding Strategies and Strategies for Attracting Readers | 212 |
| 8.2.2.1 Reports on Charity Events | 213 |
| 8.2.2.2 “Problem Solving” Reports | 215 |
| 8.2.2.3 Stories about Individual Migrant Worker | 219 |
| 8.2.3 Classified Advertising Aimed at Migrant Workers | 221 |
| 8.2.4 Imitation Between Newspapers | 224 |
| 8.3 How Professional Practices of Chinese Journalists | 227 |
| Influences Reports about Migrant Workers | 227 |
| 8.3.1 Journalists Perception of Their Social Responsibilities | 227 |
| 8.3.2 The Emergence of Watchdog Journalism in China | 230 |
| 8.3.3 New Writing Perspectives | 232 |
| 8.3.4 Improved Professional Practices | 235 |
| 8.3.5 How the Family Background of Journalists | 240 |
| Influences Their Reports | 240 |
| 8.4 Concluding Remarks | 243 |
| Chapter 9 Conclusion and Reflections | 245 |
| 9.1 An Overview of the Thesis | 245 |
| 9.2 Generalizability from the Case Study in Jinan to China | 250 |
| 9.3 Interplay of the Three Forces | 251 |
| 9.4 Contribution and Further Research | 253 |
| Bibliography | 255 |
| Notes | 288 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 4.1 Planned Sample Times of Newspapers | 92 |
| Table 4.2 A Brief Summary of Interviews Data | 290 |
| Table 5.1 Final Selected Years for the Data | 109 |
| Table 5.2 Themes of the Selected Articles | 316 |
| Table 5.3 The Number of Reports about Migrant Workers | 110 |
| Table 5.4 Categorization of the Selected Articles | 343 |
| Table 5.5 The Percentages of Positive & Negative Reports | 112 |
| Table 6.1 Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers | 351 |
| Table 6.2 Modal Terms Used for Migrant Workers | 130 |
| Table 6.3 Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Worker & Their Children | 137 |
| Table 6.4 True Names Used to Describe Migrant Workers | 142 |
| Table 7.1 Number of selected articles with the selected themes | 163 |
| Table 7.2 Data of Reports with the Theme of Criminal Offences by Migrant Workers | 390 |
| Table 7.3 Data of Reports with the Theme of Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers | 402 |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 2.1 Most Favoured Cities For Migrant Workers | 30 |
| Figure 2.2 China Urban/Rural Population Growth (1950-2030) | 31 |
| Figure 5.1 Graphs of Reporting Trends | 113 |

List of Pictures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Picture 1 Qilu Evening News, June 6, 1988, 1 | 178 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|---|-----|
| Picture 2 Life Daily, July 26, 2004, A3 | 179 |
| Picture 3 Jinan Times, June 25, 2004, A9 | 179 |
| Picture 4 Shandong Commercial News, June 2, 2004, C9 | 180 |
| Picture 5 Life Daily, July 10, 2004, A7 | 182 |
| Picture 6 Qilu Evening News, June 29, 2004, E3 | 183 |
| Picture 7 Qilu Evening News, July 29, 2010, C16 | 183 |
| Picture 8 Qilu Evening News, July 22, 2010, A07 | 184 |
| Picture 9 Shandong Commercial News, July 22, 2010, C7 | 184 |

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Brief Background

The commercialized Chinese press, including newspapers, books and magazines, had an income of 1.6 trillion Yuan (160 billion Pounds) in 2012 (Qu & Zhao, 2013).

However, on the 2013 Reporters Without Borders press freedom index, China ranked 173rd out of 179 countries. Profitable, but censored, the Chinese press has become a mystery.

One conspicuous outcome of press commercialization was the emergence of local evening newspapers (晚报, *wan bao*) in most provinces and major cities. Evening newspapers were mainly founded by the Party organ newspapers, and run by provincial or municipal Party committees. Different from the Party papers, which mostly feature party speeches, announcements, propaganda, and policy viewpoints, evening newspapers have far more diverse content, such as reports on local issues, events, businesses, culture, and entertainment. The content of evening newspapers is closer to Western tabloid newspapers with obvious signs of depoliticization and trivialization (Wang, 2005). The popularity and profitability of evening newspapers brings financial support to the Party newspapers, and today almost all Party organ newspapers have set up evening newspapers or metropolitan newspapers in order to earn more revenue. At present, there are 167 registered evening newspapers all over China (Shi, 2013). However, these market-oriented evening newspapers are not completely independent businesses but are supervised by the Party, and they have to fulfil their political responsibilities. At the same time, media reforms encourage Chinese journalists to become “aspiring professionals” (Polumbaum, 1990a). With a variety of influences from the Party, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists, the content of evening newspapers has become an interesting topic to explore.

Within the last two decades in China, one of the most dramatic changes was the rise in the numbers of migrant workers. Here, these migrant workers refer to rural-to-urban migrants within China, and they are internal migrant workers, not cross-border international migrants. It was reported that there are about 262 million migrant workers in today's China (Sun, 2013), but the number was only about 1 million in the 1980s (Zhang, Liu & Liu, 2011). China's unique socio-economic system has created this cheap rural migrant labour that has contributed greatly to China's economy and urbanization. However, large numbers of migrant workers coming to the cities over a short time has also caused a wide range of issues that are linked to migrant workers' employment, housing, entitlements, education, and so on. Because of the Hukou system (户口, *the household registration system*) in China, migrant workers are still seen as rural residents, and they work in big cities as second-class citizens. Suffering from both systematic discrimination and deep-seated prejudice, many migrant workers used violent actions to uphold their rights, and this is seen as a threat to society by the Chinese government (Feng, 2009). The migrant-worker issue has become a non-ignorable issue in China.

The portrayal of migrant workers in the Chinese media, especially in the widely read commercialized evening newspapers has become important: it draws public concern to certain topics related to migrant workers, and it influences public perceptions of migrant workers. Several media researchers have contributed to this study with an array of interesting findings. Jacka (2000) and Lee (2007) noticed that in the 1980s and 1990s, the terms "the floating population" (流动人口, *liu dong ren kou*), "blind drifters" (盲流, *mang liu*) and "flow of migrant workers" (民工潮, *min gong chao*) were widely used by the Chinese evening newspapers to describe rural-to-urban migration, portraying an irrational, senseless and out-of-control migration of labour into the cities. There is also a tendency for migrants to be portrayed as a group of outsiders who poured blindly into the cities, bringing dirt, disorder and crime (Jacka, 2000 & Florence, 2006). Pai (2012) commented that these negative representations had shaped public views and sentiments towards rural migrants and deepened the

prejudice against them. So far, research has indicated that framing and representation of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers in general is negative and this influences the public opinion of migrant workers. Thus, evening newspapers are assumed to contribute to negative stereotypes and the stigmatization of migrant workers.

However, most researchers have ignored the new phenomenon that in recent years, many Chinese evening newspapers have frequently spoken for migrant workers, such as Wenzhou Evening News (Xia, 2005) and Hefei Evening News (Ren, 2011): they helped migrant workers ask for their delayed wages, they appealed to the government to protect migrant workers' rights, they cared about the education of migrant workers' children, and they worried about the migrant workers' social security and social welfare. It has become normal that evening newspapers publish features about talented migrant workers who also work hard. The follow-up studies on these relatively positive representations of migrant workers are rarely seen.

1.2 Motives and Goals

The aim of this study is to examine representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers during the last two decades and explore what factors have shaped reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. The previous's findings found that representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers tended to be mainly negative are challenged in this study. Two key questions were explored in this research: firstly, how had the Chinese evening newspapers reported migrant workers in the last two decades, such as what language was used in the evening newspapers to describe them, whether migrant workers were given a voice in these reports, what the news sources of these reports were and what kind of pictures were used to go with these articles; and secondly, what were the factors that had influenced the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers, such as the role of politics, market forces and professionalization of

Chinese journalists in the news coverage of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. To answer the first research question, a longitudinal analysis of the content of evening newspapers concerning migrant workers was conducted. In this section, newspaper content analysis and discourse analysis were chosen. The proportions of reports with negative or positive representations of migrant workers at several different points in time were examined. The individual reports about migrant workers at different time points were also analysed by using discourse analysis. In order to answer the second research question, a large number of interviews with senior management staff and journalists, with market research and advertising staff from evening newspapers were included. In this section, based on the related literature and on these in-depth interviews, the researcher explored and examined the factors that influenced the newspapers' editorial decisions when reporting issues about migrant workers, which are also the reasons for the changing representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers.

1.3 The Gap in the Current Literature

Four research gaps are identified below which need further research:

- there is a lack of fundamental studies on the content of Chinese evening newspapers. Extensive research has addressed the fact that evening newspapers tend to publish stories that sell, but few studies have suggested that the content of Chinese evening newspapers has changed.
- there is a lack of studies of media representation of social issues with a focus on representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. In the existing literature, Chinese evening newspapers as a topic has been explored mainly in the research about the Chinese media reform, and migrant workers issues have mainly been discussed alone. Some literature has touched on representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers, but not widely enough.

- there is a lack of longitudinal research on the representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. Most existing research focuses on short timeframes, with the conclusion that the portrayal of migrant workers in the evening newspapers has been mainly negative. Very little research has been done to investigate representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers over the past twenty years.
- there is a lack of studies on how Chinese newspapers' content has been influenced by several complementary factors. Most existing studies had a very narrow approach, addressing either the political factors, or the market pressures, ignoring the other factors that also influence the contents of evening newspapers, such as the professionalization of Chinese journalists. Further, there has been little or no research on how these multiple forces work together to shape Chinese evening newspapers' reports.

1.4 Contributions of the Present Study

The public's perception of migrant workers is largely determined by their portrayal in the mass media. Therefore, it is important to know whether the mainstream media are objective and present accurate and diverse representations of migrant workers. This perception will influence public attitudes towards migrant workers, and the social policies aimed at migrant workers. As mentioned in Section 1.1, there have been a number of valuable studies on representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers (Jacka, 2000; Lee, 2007; Florence, 2006), all of which present evidence that Chinese media cast a negative stereotype of migrant workers. However, most of the existing research in this area has used data collected over short timeframes only, making it difficult to notice the possible changes in the representations, and none of these studies provides a picture of the changes over the last two decades. While there has been some research on the general factors that

caused evening newspapers to report relatively negative stories about migrant workers, little has been written to explore the reasons for the changing representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers. This study has sought to overcome these shortcomings by emphasizing long-term data collection and to investigate what factors have shaped the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. This study helps fill a gap in the research on representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers, and extends the previous research into a new territory.

1.5 Terminology

Below, some of the terminology employed in this study is briefly defined.

Evening Newspapers

Evening newspapers (晚报, *wan bao*) literally mean newspapers published in the evening, and the history of the development of evening newspapers is discussed in Chapter 2.2.1. The definition of Chinese evening newspapers that is used in this study was explained by Lee (1990) as newspapers marketed as publications for leisure-time reading after work rather than as propaganda tools. McCormick & Liu (2003) wrote that evening newspapers published reports about traffic and weather, celebrities and entertainment, fashion and cooking, careers and personal finance, and sport. Hu (2002) pointed out that evening newspapers are keen on publishing news related to lifestyle, consumption, entertainment, leisure, sport, food, and other issues considered non-political. Nowadays, with the competition in the market, most of these papers have changed their publication cycle so that they are published in the morning, but they are still categorised as evening newspapers.

On January 1, 1995, Huaxi metropolitan newspaper (《华西都市报》, *hua xi du shi bao*) was founded: it was the first metropolitan newspaper in China (Sun, 2008).

Similar to evening newspapers, metropolitan newspapers are mainly sold in the streets and are aimed at urban citizens. There are some arguments about whether metropolitan newspapers (都市报, *du shi bao*) a subset of evening newspapers or evening newspapers are a subset of metropolitan newspapers. Many scholars, such as Liu (2003), and Liu & Zhang (2004), listed metropolitan newspapers as one type of evening newspaper. In this study, following their categorization and definition of evening newspapers, metropolitan newspapers are seen as evening newspapers.

Positive, Negative & Neutral

The terms “negative reports” and “positive reports” are central to the argument presented here, yet their precise meaning in common usage is often ambiguous. In Webster’s New Dictionary of Synonyms (1973), “positive” was explained as “certain, sure, cocksure” with as analogues “confident, assured, sanguine, sure, dogmatic, doctrinaire, oracular, dictatorial”. In Collins Dictionary of the English Language (1979), “positive” was explained as “tending to emphasize what is good or laudable; constructive”, as well as “moving in a beneficial direction”. In Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987), “positive” was understood as “an action or decision was done or made in a very deliberately and forceful way that is likely to have good results” or “encouragement”. Within the context of this study, the term “positive reports” was used to mean reports praising migrant workers for their hard work or their contributions to society, showing sympathy to them, helping them to solve problems, and encouraging the public to support migrant workers, such as reports caring about migrant workers’ working or living conditions, or the education of their children. The negative reports refer to the reports that were distinguished by a focus on bad images of migrant workers and articles with an attitude of exclusion toward migrant workers, for example, articles claiming that social unease was brought by the migrant workers, placing a heavy focus on crime, accidents, and the moral decay of migrant workers, and reports complaining about migrant workers for taking jobs away from citizens and putting pressure on the city. In the Longman

Online Dictionary of Contemporary English, “neutral” means impartial, not supporting any of the people or groups involved in an argument or disagreement. In this study, apart from positive reports and negative reports, the other reports which are without an obvious bias towards or against migrant workers were labelled as “neutral reports”.

Professionalism, Professional Practices & Professionalization

In Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, professionalism was defined as “the conduct, aims, or qualities that characterize or mark a profession or a professional person”. In the Oxford Dictionary, professionalism was explained as “the competence or skill expected of a professional”. Professionalism is seen as espousing professional values such as commitment to public service and autonomy, and it is characterized by an ability to provide complex, discretionary services to the public (Wilensky, 1964 & Freidson, 2001). Journalistic professionalism means reporting objectively and responsibly (McLeod & Hawley, 1964).

Freidson (1994: 10) explains a profession as “an occupation that controls its own work, organized by a special set of institutions sustained in part by a particular ideology of expertise and service.” Thus, professional practice can be understood as the professional behaviour for members of this occupation. “Professional” is the outcome of professionalism. In the New Oxford American Dictionary published in 2005, by Oxford University Press, “professional” was explained in four perspectives: “of, relating to, or connected with a profession; (of a person) engaged in a specified activity as one’s main paid occupation rather than as a pastime; having or showing the skill appropriate to a professional person, competent or skillful; and worthy of or appropriate to a professional person. In this research, the third meaning is adopted to explain “professional practice” to mean that journalists’ work shows appropriate skill and competence, following the “quality” line (Sockett: 1996: 23), and enhancing their quality of service (Hoyle, 2001:146).

Professionalization was seen as the process by which to achieve the status of a professional and the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group in order to maintain practitioners' own occupational self-interests in terms of their salary, status and power as well as the monopoly protection of the occupational jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977). Anderson (2008) pointed out that the professionalization of journalism refers to the process by which a group of people engaged in reporting in the public media on current events and ideas achieves the status of the occupational professional, and he further argued that the emergence of paid, full-time reporters marked the first step toward journalistic professionalization.

News Hotlines & News Hotlines Page

In order to obtain exclusive news and breaking news, nearly all Chinese evening newspapers published one or more phone numbers in their papers, and encouraged their readers to call in. These numbers are described as News Hotlines (新闻热线, *xin wen re xian*). Most evening newspapers set up a special team to answer these phone calls, and pass the important news sources to relevant journalists. The journalists will go to the news front to investigate more details of these stories and write reports. Some evening newspapers published all these stories obtained from News Hotlines on the same page, and this page is called the News Hotlines Page (新闻热线版, *xin wen re xian ban*).

News Hotlines helped newspapers to get instant news (Chinese Evening Newspapers Association Committee, 2001). Li & Zhou (2006) argued the emergence of News Hotlines shows that the press cared for issues concerning people's livelihoods.

Human Interest Stories

In journalism, human interest stories are feature stories about people, and their problems, concerns, or achievements. These stories are usually written in an emotive way, which brings about sympathy or emotions from the readers or viewers.

McQuail (1992) explained that human interest stories were stories using strongly emotional subject matter, or wildly dramatic style or language, to discuss a person or people in an interactive and emotional way, and presenting people and their problems, concerns, or achievements in a way that brings interest or sympathy to the readers. Hughes (1940) suggested that it was the penny papers that invented the human interest story. Bovee (1999: 201) explained that human interest stories as stories with material “in which people have an easy, natural interest”. He pointed out that human interest stories were an outcome of journalism business, “A paper that catered to human interest became not only a business, but also a big business” (Bovee, 1999: 201). Fine & White (2002) acknowledged that human interest stories are “closely linked to the current tabloidization of the press and television”, and they have created the “shared identification” necessary for “social cohesion and the maintenance of a public sphere”. James, al. (1980) argued that human interest stories serve the interests of the elite by disempowering its readers, and instead of understanding events in terms of deep-seated causes, the human interest story explains things in terms of chance and luck. Curran et al. (1980) argued that without human interest stories, the news could not have the same value as a commodity in the news market, and the newspapers would be difficult to sell.

1.6 Problems and Limitations

Evening newspapers in Jinan were chosen as research objects (see Chapter 4.2.1) in this study, for being representative of most of the other evening newspapers in China,

and also the researcher's unique access to data in this city, which allows collection of a lot of detail that would not normally be easily obtained by other research designs. However, there are 145 evening newspapers in China (Chinese Evening Newspapers Association, 2001), and these evening newspapers are spread over many cities, including Jinan. Since there are some differences among these evening newspapers, some factors need to be considered when applying the results of case study in Jinan to the other cities, such as the different degree of political control from the local authorities towards the different evening newspapers. Qualitative case studies are also limited by the researcher's own judgement and understanding of the research subject, since the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, and his/her findings mainly rely on his/her own decisions throughout most of the study.

On the other hand, by getting data as an insider, the researcher can obtain richer data, but has to be aware that their own working experience as a journalist may bias the research. For example, they may take it for granted that it is the journalists' own choice to write reports to help migrant workers solve problems, without investigating the complex reasons behind these actions. Secondly, the interview data for this research will come from journalists and senior management staff in the evening newspapers, not from migrant workers. It would also be interesting to explore whether migrant workers themselves have influenced their representation in the evening newspapers. Thirdly, by the stage when this thesis was being written up, social media might have become an important method of communication between migrant workers and journalists, which might mean that journalists could get more stories about migrant workers from social media, but this was not the case at the time of data gathering. The most widely-used Chinese social media platform "Sina Microblog" (新浪微博, *xin lang wei bo*), which is akin to a hybrid of Twitter and Facebook, was launched on 14 August 2009. The influence of social media on the content of evening newspapers was not so obvious during the period when this research was conducted. Thus, this perspective has not been explored in this thesis.

Additionally, Jinan is the capital city of Shandong Province. Located on the eastern coast and at the lower reaches of the Yellow River, Shandong Province is one of the most prosperous coastal regions in China as well as the birthplace of the Qilu culture. The great ancient thinker Confucius came from this area. Thus, influenced by his doctrine, Confucianism, the local culture, which is seen as more conservative than that of other cities (Pang, 2010), may affect the research results.

1.7 Ethical Issues in this Research

The interviewees are mainly senior management staff and journalists from evening newspapers, and the researcher has to be aware that these newspapers are still supervised by the Chinese government (McCormick & Liu, 2003). The Propaganda Department of the Communist Party of China issued a notice on March 4, 1983, to prevent anyone from revealing Party and State' secrets to scholars and researchers. It is difficult to determine which are Party and State' secrets and which are not. For example, an interviewee stated that they regularly receive directives from the Provincial Propaganda Department, telling them what to report and what not to report. These directives are very important for this research, but they may be seen as a Party secret. An interviewee may get into trouble if it is found out that they shared this information. It is the responsibility of the researcher to protect their interviewees. The following steps were taken to ensure anonymity: the interview data has been kept fully safe, interviews were conducted privately, away from third persons, and pseudonyms were used to represent interviewees' names to cover the identities of interviewees in this thesis.

1.8 Thesis Structure

In order to understand the research questions, Chapter 2 looks at the two main issues related to this research: the emergence of migrant worker issues in contemporary

China and the newly formed commercialized Chinese evening newspapers in the transition era. This body of information is tackled systematically, and the aim is to provide an overview of these issues that are related to this research. Such information comes from a variety of sources, including both books and journals published in Chinese and English.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the relevant literature. After a brief discussion of media representation of social issues and the portrayal of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers, the broader literature on the forces that shape reporting practices in Chinese evening newspapers is included.

Chapter 4 examines the research methodology. After considering a variety of qualitative and quantitative methodologies to explore the research questions, the approach eventually taken involved the analysis of 299 reports about migrant workers from the four evening newspapers in Jinan (see Chapter 5), and interviews with 51 individuals who were either involved in reporting about migrant workers, or in the editorial decision-making of evening newspapers, or in advertising in evening newspapers. Several approaches are adopted to identify the data from selected reports, including a combination of qualitative and quantitative newspaper content analysis (see Chapter 5), discourse analysis of the terms used to describe migrant workers (see Chapter 6) and discourse analysis of the reports about criminal offences and accidents involving migrant workers (see Chapter 7). These multifaceted analyses show that representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers have changed over the period of the analysis. Thematic content analyses are adopted to analyze the interview data for this research.

The aim of the newspaper content analysis in Chapter 5 is to provide an overview of how the balance of negative and positive reports about migrant workers has changed over the years for each evening newspaper. To achieve this, the themes of the selected 299 reports about migrant workers are identified and placed into

subcategories, and then categorized as negative, positive or neutral reports. The results are shown in four graphs.

The terms that were used to describe migrant workers in the evening newspapers are examined under historical and sociological contexts in Chapter 6. In this chapter, the most frequently used terms to describe migrant workers at different times are identified. The use of full real names, distinctive terms linked to their characteristics and pseudonyms for migrant workers are then explored. Chapter 6 also reveals the complex reasons that have caused the changes in these terms.

Analyses of the individual reports with the themes of “criminal offences by migrant workers” and “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” are included in Chapter 7. This part explores how journalists reported the causes of criminal offences and accidents involving migrant workers, the language used in the reports, whether migrant workers’ voices were included in the reports or not, the sources of the news stories, and the analysis of visual material.

Chapters 5 to 7 draw largely on the data from the selected reports, and Chapter 8 focuses on analyzing data from the interviews. Chapters 5 to 7 address whether representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers have changed. Chapter 8 goes on to explore the reasons behind these changes. In Chapter 8, by examining the interview data, the role of politics, market forces and the changing professional practices of Chinese journalists in the portrayal of migrant workers in the evening newspapers are explored, and this chapter also sheds light on how the multiple pressures bearing on the Chinese evening newspapers are interacting with each other to shape the media’s changing social role and function.

In the conclusion to the thesis, Chapter 9, argues that with a complex interaction of the multiple forces bearing on the Chinese evening newspapers, representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers have changed. These changes are

outcome of the interplay of the different forces. It would appear that with the emergence of a capitalist political economy in China (McNally, 2007), a “free play of market forces” has occurred everywhere, including the Chinese media industry. Less control from the government created room for media’s professionalization. Thus, the Chinese media have become more independent and their standards in collecting, editing and reporting have improved. However, this does not mean that the media have complete freedom in conducting fair and truthful coverage of social issues. Therefore, the media plays an important role in framing social problems, and this process was influenced by three important factors, politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists.

Chapter 2 Research Background

Introduction

This chapter examines the two main issues related to this research: migrant workers in contemporary China and Chinese evening newspapers in the transition era. The first part of this chapter documents the rural to urban migration phenomenon in China, examines migrant workers' contribution to the Chinese economy, the issues faced by migrant workers, such as housing, labour disputes and social welfare, and identifies the relationship between migrant workers and urban society, government policies and organizations. The second part of this chapter explores the development of Chinese evening newspapers after the press reform of the 1980s, and identifies the main ideologies and characteristics of Chinese evening newspapers and journalists working for evening newspapers.

Some issues, particularly those which have little related literature in English are rarely researched by Western scholars. Therefore, this thesis will also refer to books, research papers and reports written in Chinese by Chinese social researchers in order to understand both migrant workers' issues and Chinese evening newspapers better. Meanwhile, it must be born in mind that the Party has a special position in the Chinese academic community, and as a result, the Chinese scholars may be unable to immunise themselves against political manipulation. Fincher (2012) pointed out that social science in China is tightly controlled by the state, and it is often used in the service of the state. However, because the Chinese scholars' research has been heavily influenced by the ideology of the Party, this literature may offer another perspective for the researcher to understand how the Chinese evening newspapers have been influenced by the Party's ideologies.

2.1 Issues Concerning Migrant Workers in Contemporary China

There are an estimated 262 million migrant workers in China, and as many as one-in-five Chinese are migrant workers (Sun, 2013). Migrant workers have contributed enormously to the Chinese economy in the past two decades. However, because of the household registration (户口, *hu kou*) system, they are still classified as part of the rural population, and they are unable to access the welfare and government-provided services enjoyed by urban residents (Chan & Buckingham, 2008). The Chinese government has issued some policies to protect migrant workers' rights in order to encourage migration as a means of providing the work force for factories and construction sites and to aid the achievement of the long term goals of transforming China from a rural-based economy to an urban-based one. The situation of migrant workers has gradually improved in recent years, but as Chan & Buckingham (2008) have pointed out, the Chinese government has not brought about a fundamental change in policy for migrant workers. This section will look at the main issues associated with migrant workers in contemporary China.

2.1.1 Labour Migration and the Contribution of Migrants

Rural to urban migration in China can be traced back to the beginning of the Peoples' Republic. Millions came from the countryside to the cities to work in the new state industries (Solinger 1999), and according to Selden (1979), approximately twenty million peasants moved into the cities from 1949 to 1957. Walder (1984) pointed out that urban industry could not absorb all these rural migrants and it worsened the problem of urban unemployment. Zhang (2001:25) added that during that period, the Chinese government tried to monitor this migration. During that time, migrant workers were treated like relocated peasants (Zhang, 2001). Since 1958, concerned about the pressure on urban services and the problems of urban unemployment, the Chinese authorities adopted a strict household registration system. The allocation of food and other resources was directly tied to it. Most

Chinese citizens had to live and work at the place where they were born and registered. During the Cultural Revolution (1965-1975), many skilled urban workers and professionals were sent to the underdeveloped remote countryside to help develop the local economy and millions of urban young people and intellectuals were sent to rural areas under Mao's call that "Educated youth must go to the countryside to receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants" (Bernstein, 1977), and thus, the urban population did not increase, and even dropped (Riskin, 2000).

Economic reforms, launched by Deng Xiaoping to introduce capitalist market principles in 1978, encouraged rural to urban migration. Summarized by Zhang (2001: 26-27), there were several reasons that motivated millions of Chinese peasants to come into the cities: there were over 200 million surplus rural labourers in the countryside as the result of the agriculture reforms; the development of Chinese urban economies and the inflow of foreign capital required large numbers of cheap labourers; migrants could obtain basic living resources through markets in the cities, since the "urban public goods regime" (Solinger, 1999) practice emerged; and also, the government relaxed this migration policy. At that time, these migrants were not welcomed by most urban residents (Roberts, 2001 & Solinger, 1999: 101): they were frequently blamed for employment issues, congestion, crime, degradation of the environment, housing shortages and the undermining of employment conditions. Data about these migrants was limited until October 1st, 1991, when Chinese authorities began a survey to gather more information about these migrant population (Zhang, 2001). As a result, Chinese authorities issued "Temporary Rules on Managing the Employment of Rural Labour Migrating Across Provinces" to manage rural labour mobility (Wang & Cai, 2010).

Since 2000, the contribution of migrant workers to urban social and economic development has gradually been recognized by society, and in November 2001, the State issued a notice to abolish all manner of fees levied on rural migrants (Wang & Cai, 2010). Wu & Zhou (1996) suggested that the general direction of the migratory

labour flow in China is from the provinces in the inland, central and western regions, to the provinces in the eastern, coastal regions (see Figure 2.1). However, Xing (2013) argued that this phenomenon has changed slightly in recent years: many migrant workers moved to cities nearer their homes rather than to the coastal cities that had attracted them in the past, because many cities in the interior have recently become more developed, with many more job opportunities. The annual migrant labour flow during the 1990s was at a level of around 50-60 million people, of whom about 10-15 million have permanently settled in cities (Wu and Li, 1996). There is a debate over whether migrant workers had taken away jobs from existing urban workers. Research shows that most migrant workers take on jobs which urban citizens were unwilling to take, and 80% of migrant workers' jobs were not in conflict with urban people's jobs (Cui, 1996). Migrant workers mainly work in factories, on construction sites, in mines and in the service sector: male migrant workers are more likely to find jobs on construction sites, while female migrant workers are more likely to be hired as textile workers, and they have also taken domestic service jobs, such as cleaning, cooking and baby-sitting (Lee, 2007: 39).

Figure 2.1 Most Favoured Cities For Migrant Workers

Source: Research On Rural-to-Urban Labour Migration in the Post-Reform China: a Survey by Wu & Zhou (1996)



Figure 2.2 China Urban/Rural Population Growth (1950-2030)

Source: Discussion on the Causes and Solutions of the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers, by Cui (2003)



Cui (2003) pointed out that China's cities and towns have absorbed millions of surplus labourers (see Figure 2.2). The enormous number of migrant workers has become an important factor in the acceleration of the country's urbanization process. It was estimated that migrant workers contributed 2 trillion Yuan to the Chinese economy every year (Zhao, 2007). They have also benefited the country's rural economy: migrant workers usually send money back to their families in rural areas and this money allows their families to move into better homes, send their children to school, get better medical treatment and buy items such as livestock and furniture, helping to slow down the rural-urban income gap (Murphy, 2009). Stalk & Young (2004) argued that China's emergence as one of the world's leading export nations is driven by the low-paid migrant labour; Ceglowski & Stephen (2007) established that Chinese unit labour costs are about 25-40 percent of US labour costs.

In this research, Jinan was chosen as the case study city. Jinan is the capital of Shandong province in Eastern China, which is often referred to as the Spring City for its 72 famous springs. Shandong is flat in most areas. The Yellow River, the second-longest river in Asia passes through Shandong's western areas, before entering the sea. Shandong is one of the most important agricultural provinces, ranking first among the provinces in the production of a variety of products, including cotton and wheat. Jinan, the Capital has become a major trading centre for agricultural goods in northern China. The census conducted in 2010 counted that there are about 6.81 million people in Jinan (Zhang & Yu, 2011). By July 2000, there were 360,000 registered migrant workers in Jinan (Li, Chen & Gao, 2001). In 2013, there were about 1.5 million migrant workers in Jinan (Zhao, 2013). A survey conducted in Jinan showed that migrant workers in Jinan mainly work in the restaurants, metalworking factories, retail outlets, and food companies, and most of them come from nearby villages or the other rural areas in Shandong Province (Li, Chen & Gao, 2001).

2.1.2 Housing, Labour Disputes and Social Welfare

Private housing is usually beyond the reach of most low-income migrant workers. Most migrant workers have to depend on their employers for accommodation. Wu (2002) found that a third of migrant workers in Shanghai lived in dormitories provided by their employers. In some textile factories, 6 to 8 young migrant women workers have to share one room (Mallee, 2000). Most construction workers are ordered to eat and sleep at the construction site. Wang & Wang (2009) pointed out that temporary shelters at the construction sites are the most common locations where rural migrants live. These shelters are usually offered by the employers, free of charge, but they are very simple and crowded. A room 10 to 30 square metres in area is typically shared by 6 to 20 people (Wang & Wang, 2009). Other migrants, not employed by large companies, usually rent flats in poor areas of the cities. Kochhar (2008) stated that most of them have to settle down in slum settlements and ghettos

where the rent is much cheaper. Some of these areas are the so-called urban villages (城中村, *cheng zhong cun*), which were originally rural settlements located in suburban areas (Wang & Wang, 2009). Many live in places that are dark, cramped, and dirty, where diseases spread more easily (Smith, 2000). Tan & Peng (2003) found that the average living area of migrant workers measured 2.5 square metres in Wuhan, and 90% of migrant workers did not have their own kitchens and bathrooms. Observations in three cities in China found that most migrant workers lived in poor quality houses (Murphy, 2009). Murphy (2009) concluded that housing for migrants is seen as infrastructure for labourers rather than a place in which human beings can maintain social relationships and feel that it is their home.

Rao (2005) pointed out that one third of labour disputes among migrant workers' were caused by disputes over labour contracts. It is normal practice that the employers do not sign formal labour contracts with migrant workers (Tao, 2009), even though Chinese labour law clearly requires that employees should sign legal working contracts with employers. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development, Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in nine provinces and municipalities, showed that, in 2004, the fraction of migrant construction workers who signed contracts with their employers was only between 10 and 37.5% (Zhong guo Jian she bao, 2004). This situation has not changed much in recent years. A survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics showed that in 2009, only 42.8% of migrant workers signed labour contracts with their employers. Additionally, many of the contracts that were signed were not standard and were invalid (He, 2007).

The legal rights of migrant workers are often infringed by their employers. A report from the National Bureau of Statistics showed that, in 2009, the migrant workers' national average monthly income was 1417 Yuan, with 31.5% of workers having a monthly income in the range 800 - 1200 Yuan, and 33.9% in the range 1200-1600 Yuan (Sun, 2010b). Most migrant workers had to work overtime to get this amount

of money. The same report showed that migrant workers work 26 days a month, or 58.4 hours a week on average, 14.4 hours more than the legal limit of 44 hours a week (Sun, 2010b). Dong & Bowles (2002) found that the average income of migrant workers was much lower than that of urban workers when taking on the same jobs, and the salaries of migrant workers were often half or less than half of the pay received by their urban peers. A survey carried out by Jiang Nan Metropolitan Daily indicates that 70% of migrant workers have experience of being in wage arrears (Zhou, 2010b). Statistics from the China Labour Bureau showed that in 2004, migrant workers were owed over 40 billion Yuan by different employers all over China. Even with the help of the China Labour Inspection Team, only 1.4 billion Yuan was reclaimed (Zhao, 2007). Facing long-term delays in the payment of their salaries, some migrant workers suppress their rage and keep silent, some turn to the courts, but this is a long process and can be difficult where there is often a great deal of missing legal paper work between migrant workers and their employers, and some use violence against their employers to reclaim their unpaid wages. Zhao (2007) found that 70% of conflicts between the employers and migrant workers were caused by unpaid wages. Li (2004b) argued that the failure of employers to make payments often drives migrant workers to become criminals. They steal products or property from the factories where they work and sell them at a low price to make up their losses (Xu & Xu, 2011), and some of them turn to violence in revenge (Zhang & Wang, 2010; Bu, 2010; Wang, 2010b). Liu, Yang & Yin (2007) found that migrant workers often gathered and protested in front of the contractors' offices, and some of these mass events were manipulated by the sub-contractors: the sub-contractors used the migrant workers' anger to put pressure on the contractors, in order to get their delayed construction debt. Migrant workers often threaten to jump from high buildings, asking for their delayed wages. Zhang Hejin, an ordinary migrant worker from Hubei, has become an expert at using the media and brinkmanship, making the companies believe that the workers will carry out their threats unless they pay up (Huang, 2009).

Tao (2009) argued that many of the discriminatory policies towards migrant workers have been gradually removed with the help of the government, such as the policy that the children of migrant workers have limited access to education and healthcare in the city. However, in reality, most migrant workers are not treated equally with urban workers (Meng, 2008). Few migrant workers have joined social security schemes, Wang (2005) explained that migrant workers scarcely earn enough money to make ends meet, and they do not have extra money to pay for their social security coverage. Liu (2007) explained that immoral employers took advantage of the ignorance and timidity of migrant workers, and they did not arrange health insurance, industrial accident insurance, retirement pensions and housing allowance for the workers. Those who joined social security schemes met a lot of problems too. For example, migrant workers are highly mobile, they may move between several different cities in just a few years. When migrant workers move to different cities, they cannot transfer their social security account to their new city (Wu, 2008). Zheng (2010) concluded that the existing social security schemes were not sufficiently flexible for the fast-growing needs of migrant workers.

2.1.3 Family Separation

In most cases, married rural men move to the large cities in search of better opportunities, leaving their wives behind to look after the old and the young in the countryside. Because these wives cannot see their husbands for a long time, they are called “Left Behind Widows” (留守寡妇, *liu shou gua fu*) or “System Widows” (体制性寡妇, *ti zhi xing gua fu*) by some scholars and journalists. Hong (2008) wrote that the number of “Left Behind Widows” has reached 47 million in China, and it was reported that the majority of these women experience severe depression and loneliness, as well as sexual repression caused by long separation from their spouses. Rural men in the cities also have sexual needs: a survey by the Ministry of Health at the end of 2004 said 88% of male migrants suffered from sexual depression (Wu, 2006). Zhou (2010a) pointed out that the rural divorce rate

has risen significantly. Statistics show the divorce rate among young migrant workers, both male migrants and female migrants, who make up 80% of all migrant workers, has reached 44%.

According to research by the All Women's Federation and Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, there are about 58 million children, including 40 million under the age of 14, who are left behind in the rural areas (Sun, 2010a). Figures from the National Committee on Children and Women under the State Council, show that China currently has about 20 million children of migrant workers living in the cities (Qiu, 2010). The education of migrant workers' children has become a problem. In China, compulsory education is based on the Hukou registration system, and it is stipulated that children can only receive free education in the place of registration of the child's Hukou. After moving to cities, migrant workers have to pay extra fees to send their children to urban public schools (Zhu, 2010). In recent years, the State has issued some policies to gradually change this situation. Under current regulations, migrant workers' children are allowed to go to publicly-funded schools in Beijing without paying extra fees, but under the condition that they must show five certificates, such as every family member's Hukou, a temporary residence permit, the certificate of residence in Beijing, a certificate to show that the children have no guardian in the village where they are from and their parents' work contracts (Wen, 2010). Many migrant workers do not have all of those certificates: migrant workers usually hold unstable jobs, and they may have to move to another city or job before they get all five certificates, and the number of their children may exceed the limit stipulated by of the birth-control policy, in which case the children born outwith the limit may not have any Hukou at all (Xu, 2009).

Zhu (2010) found that those who are attending urban public schools usually have difficulties in adapting to school life, because of the differences in family background, cultural background, language and interests. A survey conducted in Hangzhou in 2005 found that 40% of migrant workers' children had been "looked

down upon” by their classmates and teachers. Some sociologists worried that excluding migrant children from life in the cities will bring further tensions into urban-rural relationships (Lu & Zhang, 2004). Some migrant parents prefer to send their children to schools for migrant children in the cities. However, Woronov (2009) found that conditions in these types of schools were generally very poor, and that the legal status of these migrant schools had been debated for a long time. The migrant workers’ children left in the villages also have problems with their education. In the book “Sad Village” (《伤村》, *shang cun*), Professor Nie Mao pointed out that the children left behind cannot get parental care, and the majority manifested mild to moderate psychological disorders. Li (2008) made an assumption that, lacking supervision from their parents, those left behind children often turn to crime. Li’s assumption, however, may not be true. Xinhua News (2014) reported that it is more likely for migrant workers’ children to become victims of crimes rather than to commit crimes: an NGO report on China's left-behind children released in September 2013 showed that children of migrant workers are more likely to become victims of sexual assault.

2.1.4 A Threat to Urban Society?

There is a rich literature by Chinese scholars about migrant workers and social order in China, with a lot of research carried out especially during the 1990s and early 2000s. These papers mainly discussed the crimes committed by migrant workers, the anti-social behaviour of migrant workers, and migrant workers having illegal children, and so on. Most of this literature indicated that migrant workers were a threat to urban society.

Xiao (1994) wrote that 200,000 bicycles were stolen in 1993 in Shanghai and most of these were stolen by migrant workers. Li (1995) wrote that, according to Beijing police, 22.5% of all crimes in the city were committed by migrant workers in 1990, and this number increased to 30% in 1991, 37.6% in 1992, 43% in 1993 and 46.2%

in 1994. Cheng & Wen (2002) wrote that, according to Shenzhen Police, 90% of robberies, murders, rapes, prostitution and drug trafficking that occurred in Shenzhen were committed by the floating population. Zhang (1995) and Hu (1999) concluded that discrimination from urban people against migrant workers was seen as the main motivation for migrant workers to commit criminal offences. Zhang (2000) argued that the root cause of conflict between migrant workers and urban citizens was inequality: the Hukou system causes both social and economic inequality to rural dwellers and urban citizens. However, Shi (1998) attributed the causes of anti-social behaviour to the migrants themselves: after moving into cities, the increasing economic pressure made migrant workers eager to pursue money, and in order to get money quickly, some turned to immoral means; multi-cultural lifestyles and different moral rules in the cities confused them, and it was difficult for them to make the right decisions. It would be best to combine both Zhang (2000) and Shi (1998)'s arguments to understand why migrant workers commit crimes.

The use of pornography amongst male migrant workers has been noticed by many researchers. Statistics showed that three quarters of China's male rural workers had watched pornographic videos (Chen , 2003b). Chen (2003b) also noticed that male migrant workers also play cards and gamble with friends from the same village, and he concluded that some of these bad habits led migrant workers to commit crimes. Hoy (2009) wrote that most migrant workers are aged between 16 and 35 years old and they are at their peak of sexual activity. Statistics from UNAIDS (The Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS) show that 20 percent of male migrant workers had visited prostitutes in the cities (Cheng, 2010). Sexual intercourse is the main means of transmission of the HIV virus in China. Most migrant workers have relatively poor knowledge about AIDs, and tend to take no protective measures. Research also showed that a high proportion of low-income female migrant workers worked in the sex industry as a way of survival (Hoy, 2009). However, it has not been proven that more female migrants become prostitutes than urban women. Instead, Jeffreys (2004: 116) noted that Chinese prostitutes are often highly educated urban women.

Hu (2002) noticed that migrant workers were also frequently reported for having illegal children - children born outside the one-child family planning policy. China's family planning regulations limit parents in urban areas to one child but in rural areas, families are allowed to have a second child if the first one is a girl, or has a physical disability, mental illness or mental retardation. Skalla (2004) also wrote that China's migrant population is thought to account for many unregistered births.

2.1.5 Policies, Organizations and Migrant Workers

At the beginning of the 1990s, migrant workers were required to obtain a temporary urban residence permit once they moved to a city. Without this permit, they could be detained, fined and repatriated. They were only allowed to do some types of work, they were excluded by social services and not covered by social insurance schemes (Murphy, 2009). Policies issued in the 1990s tended to focus on the management of migrant workers. For example, in 1993, the State Council and the Ministry of Public Security replaced the urban-rural classification with a three-part classification of residency: permanent, temporary and visiting. On Sep 9th, 1995, the Central Committee for Comprehensive Management of Public Security issued the "Opinion on stepping up the management and services for the floating population" (see Note 1). The "Opinion" regulated that migrants who did not register for temporary residency would be illegal residents: they were barred from renting property or getting a job, and they were subject to forced repatriation.

In recent years, the Chinese government has gradually tolerated and even encouraged migration (Murphy, 2009). In 2001, the National Development and Reform Commission and the Ministry of Finance jointly issued a circular to abolish fees and simplify the procedures for the application of temporary residency permits (see Note 2). One important indication of this policy shift was the State Council No. 2 document (Murphy, 2009). In January 2003, "Circular on the improvement of the

services and management of migrant workers” (see Note 3) was issued, and stating that local governments would no longer control the recruitment practices of private enterprises, and that migrant workers should enjoy the same rights and status as the locals. In 2006 a report titled “Some opinions on resolving the problems faced by migrant workers” (see Note 4), urged local governments to abolish discriminatory measures against migrant workers and to improve their access to social services. Murphy (2009) summarized the reasons that caused these changes: the Chinese government realized that migrant workers played an important role in developing the Chinese economy and that a productive economy needs a continuous labour flow; Chinese authorities worried about the social unrest generated by the widening socio-economic inequalities; the NGO sector, both indigenous and international, started to be concerned about the abuse and discrimination faced by migrants, which portrays a negative image of the country internationally. As a result, many policies have been issued aiming at protecting migrant workers’ rights, as well as safeguarding their access to social services, welfare and healthcare (Murphy, 2009).

Gao & Yu (2011) wrote that compared with earlier migrant workers, the new generation of migrant workers are better educated, know the labour laws better and are more courageous about protecting their own rights. Young migrant workers frequently show their anger over low wages and infringements with a series of strikes to demand better working conditions : for example, in 2010, more than 10 provincial governments in China announced a new policy to raise minimum wage levels by 10% (Zhuang, 2010), and at the same time, the Chinese government issued regulations to require local governments to improve migrant workers’ living conditions, and set up social welfare systems and social insurance schemes for migrant workers.

Trade unions are organizations that should help migrant workers in China. In most Western countries, trade unions are independent organizations, but in China, there is only one official trade union, which is the All-China Federation of Trade Unions

(ACFTU), of which all local trade unions are branches. The ACFTU functions as both a representative institution of workers and a state institution with responsibility for maintaining social stability (Fan & Gahan, 2008). Thus, the ACFTU has a double institutional identity as both a state apparatus and a labour organization (Chen, 2003a). On August 9th, 2003, the ACFTU issued a notice to encourage all migrant workers to join trade unions, and, for the first time, officially recognized farmers, who left their hometown to work in the cities, as workers (Wei, 2003). In March, 2006, the ACFTU decided to adopt 10 measures to protect migrant workers' rights. These measures include helping migrant workers to sign legal labour contracts, to be paid on time, and to be included in government social security schemes, offering free legal assistance, and providing necessary livelihood assistance (see Note 5). In 2007, The ACFTU issued its "Circular on better protection for the legal rights of migrant workers", urging local trade unions to encourage migrant workers to join them. By early 2008, according to official figures, about half of the nation's migrant workers (62 million) had joined (Suo, 2008). However, this number is not evidence that the scheme is working. Trade unions aim to give more protection to migrant workers, however, in some cases, the heads of the local union branches were also in management positions of the factories (Hille, Mitchell & Dyer, 2010), and this caused conflicts of interest. As a result, the number of spontaneous protests are rising and many migrant workers have gone to seek independent organizations outside the trade unions.

Howell (2009) pointed out that the domestic NGOs began to provide services and advice to migrant workers from mid-1990s onwards in Beijing and Shenzhen

Some of these NGOs were initiated and driven by Chinese intellectuals sympathetic to the plight of migrant workers, others were set up by local governments who were concerned about social stability, and some of the donor programmes targeting migrant workers were under the support of international organizations (Howell, 2009). Howell (2009) pointed out that many of these organizations depend on donor funding from outside China, and lack fundraising techniques within China, and

furthermore, most of these NGOs are closely monitored by the Chinese government. Lu (2007) argued that this running model will affect their attitude towards the vulnerable and disadvantaged people they are supposed to help. Migrant workers also tried to establish their own organizations, but most of these organizations have failed. These organizations were strictly prohibited by ACFTU, who saw them as a “second trade union”, and a threat to its own power (Xie, 2002).

2.2 Chinese Evening Newspapers in the Transition Era

Two modes of press have been in existence since the commercialization of the Chinese press: party propaganda press and commercialized press. The evening newspapers belong to the latter. Both relaunched and newly founded evening newspapers published since the 1980s, 1990s or early 21st century are the product of the commercialization of the Chinese press. Without state funding, Chinese evening newspapers have to operate as a business, but at the same time, they cannot ignore supervision from the Party. Unlike most Western newspapers, the Chinese evening newspapers have dual personalities: toeing the party line and making money (He, 2003: 201). This chapter explores the developments of evening newspapers and identifies the characteristics of Chinese evening newspapers and Chinese print journalists after the press reform.

2.2.1 Rapid Growth of Evening Newspapers

According to Liu (2003), the development of Chinese evening newspapers can be divided into three periods after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. The first period was from 1949 until the Cultural Revolution, during which 13 evening newspapers (papers on sale during the evening), including Xinmin Evening News (《新民晚报》), Beijing Evening News (《北京晚报》), among others were founded, aiming at ordinary people and families. However, these 13 evening newspapers were forced to close down during the Cultural Revolution. The second

period was from the economic reform to the mid-1990s, during which, not only did the previously closed 13 evening newspapers re-start, but also many more new evening newspapers were launched. The third period was from the mid-1990s until the end of 1990s, during which time the metropolitan newspapers, which are usually classified as evening newspapers, were launched in many cities. Since only one newspaper was allowed by the state to be called an evening newspaper in each city, these newspapers had to be called by a different name. With the pressure of media competition, more and more evening newspapers began to be published in the morning, thus they are no longer really evening newspapers and also there are few differences between the evening newspapers and metropolitan newspapers. These metropolitan newspapers are mainly published by government departments or business enterprises, and they came with unprecedented vigour (Zhao, 1998: 133). A lot of literature discusses the similarities and differences between the newly founded evening newspapers and the Party newspapers. McCormick & Liu (2003) pointed out that the Party newspapers are more conservative, mainly reporting official news, and evening newspapers are more open, mainly reporting non-political news, but at the same time, evening newspapers cannot ignore supervision from the Party. Evening newspapers have to obey the Party's propaganda department directives on reporting major issues such as the events of 1989, Falun Gong and Tibetan independence. Some evening newspapers focused on sex, murder, and gossip: they published stories about homosexuality, sexual harassment of women, and the phenomenon of young women becoming mistresses of wealthy businessmen in order to attract larger circulation numbers, and these reports were deemed as spiritual pollution by the Party, challenging the Party's morals and taboos (Zhao, 1998:131).

Zhao (1998: 139) drew the conclusion that evening newspapers have violated many aspects of Party journalism in their pursuit of market success. Lynch (1999a: 173-201) held a similar opinion to Zhao (1998): commercialization caused a saturation of the press with so-called spiritually polluting, vulgar, pornographic, and feudally superstitious communications that undermine the state's efforts to build a

socialist spiritual civilization. Sparks (2000) used the term tabloidization to describe evening newspapers. Hallin (2000) argued that tabloid journalism in the evening newspapers indicated more democracy, and Lee (1990) emphasized the fact that such changes implied a move towards greater informational openness and responsiveness to the market. Zhao (1998:130) argued that the wide popularity of evening newspapers can be attributed to their attempts to address the concerns of city residents and to voice their complaints against bureaucracies, particularly public utilities. Liu (2003) noticed the benefits that evening newspapers bring to the residents. Evening newspapers put their readers first: they help readers in difficulties and solve problems for them: they carry out all kinds of services for their readers, including publishing readers' complaints and feedback, helping readers to find business opportunities, and opening hot-lines to listen to their problems. McCormick & Liu (2003) commented on this phenomenon: an increasing emphasis on matters of private life provides a more open-ended means of representing the people in the Chinese press than before.

2.2.2 Furthering the Party's Agenda

Zhao (1998: 19) explained that the basic rule of Chinese evening newspapers is to adhere to the principles of the Party, which includes reflecting the Party's guiding ideology; disseminating the Party's programmes, policies, and directives; accepting the Party's leadership and subscribing to the Party's organizational principles and press policies. This principle has long existed under the leadership of the Communist Party. Mao Zedong, one of the first generation of Chinese Communist Party leaders, demanded in 1942 that "Party newspapers and journals must promote the Party's views without any conditions" (Mao, 1991). Deng Xiaoping saw the importance of the press: he pointed out "journalists have great responsibility" and the journalists should "take the whole picture into consideration". Deng (1994) also required that journalists should stick to the Party's principles. On January 24, during 1994's National Annual Meeting of Propaganda and Thought in 1994, Jiang Zemin (2001)

said the press, including the evening newspapers, must “arm the people with scientific principles, guide the people with correct public opinions, mould the people with a noble spirit, and invigorate the people with excellent works”. The words of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin, the three core leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, indicate that the press Party Principle has never been changed. However, it may have been disguised in a looser and softer tone by changing the wording of their propaganda statements: for example, the changes to the Chinese Journalistic Ethics Code implied this change. The Chinese Journalistic Ethics Code from 1991 states: “All journalists should propagate Marxism and Mao Zedong thought, the policies of the Party and government...in order to enhance the socialist culture both materially and spiritually...fulfil its role as an organ of the Party and people” (Hu, 2002). In 2009, the newly-amended Chinese Journalistic Ethics Code states: “All journalists should follow Marxism–Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and the theory of the ‘three represents’ (三个代表, *san ge dai biao*) ...study and promote the Party’s theory, guidelines and policies...promote Socialist core values” (Qu, 2009). Although 20 years have passed, this summary indicates that the Chinese press has never strayed from the Party line. Within the Party’s discourse, Chinese scholars, such as Ha (2005: 273), explained that the responsibility of the press in China is to show the spirit of their age through their reports and to offer a colourful spiritual product to the masses; the people can be inspired by these reports and can gain confidence and strength; and the press should ensure the development of both material civilization and spiritual civilization. These statements are more like political propaganda than academic argument. Murphy (2009) drew a conclusion about the role of the Chinese press: rather than acting as a watchdog of the system, the press serves as an instrument for furthering the Party’s agenda of educating individuals about values and self-cultivation. Zhao (2008) and Florence (2009) emphasized that the Chinese press, including evening newspapers were still defined as the mouthpieces of the Party. These opinions may have highlighted the political function of the Chinese press, but ignored its other functions, such as informing and entertaining the public.

In order to ensure the Party Principle of the press, evening newspaper editors and key editorial staff are appointed by the Chinese Party Committees (Murphy, 2007).

Another way to ensure the political correctness of reports in the evening newspapers is that all breaking news is required to use Xinhua News Agency copies (Zhao, 2008). Additionally, the State Press and Publications Administration and the Party's Central Propaganda Department issue directives, announcements, and internal bulletins for all the press publications (Murphy, 2007 & Zhao, 2008). Anyone who is against the Party Principle will be punished. Punishment ranges from being forced to write self-criticisms to demotion or unemployment. Zhao (1998: 20) pointed out that, in order to avoid political mistakes, many editors have to learn to play safe.

2.2.3 Income from Advertisements

Since 1987, the Chinese government and the Party started to encourage commercialization of information (Zhao, 1987), which means that news itself was a commodity, and this allowed newspapers into the markets, leading to the flourishing of evening newspapers. There are usually two ways for commercialized evening newspapers to make money: selling copies and selling advertising space. With the cost of producing these newspapers increasing all the time, and little change in newspapers' retail price, each copy loses money in terms of sales to readers, more and more newspapers make money through selling advertising.

The advertising business with regard to newspapers existed before the People's Republic of China was founded, but it was effectively destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, but since 1978, this situation has changed (Ha, 2004). With the emergence of the economic reforms, there were two reasons that drove the newspapers to sell advertising again. Firstly, lacking money, the central government was incapable of funding the expansion of newspapers to realize a "flourishing culture" (Lynch, 1999 & Chan, 2003); secondly, advertising played an important role

in offering information about available goods and services to potential buyers and sellers (Lynch, 1999). In January 1979, the Tianjin Daily published the first advertisement in China since the Cultural Revolution, and in November 1979, the China Propaganda Department issued an official directive to promote commercial advertising business in Chinese newspapers (Ha, 2004). The advertising business became increasingly profitable in the commercialized evening newspapers. In the book “A Legendary Time: The 20 years Development of Qilu Evening News”, a 20-th anniversary celebration book for the Qilu Evening News published in 2008, it can be seen that in 1992, advertising revenue for the paper was 3.8 million Yuan; in 1993, 12 million Yuan; in 1994, 24 million Yuan; in 1995, 53 million Yuan; in 1996, 61 million Yuan, in 1997, 103 million Yuan, and in 2004, advertising revenue had increased to 430 million Yuan. Qilu Evening News in 2010 had advertising revenue of 528 million Yuan (Wei, 2011).

In a word, while the Party-State provides the evening newspapers with licences, it is the advertisers who provide the evening newspapers life blood. By allowing more and more advertisements, Zhao (2008: 254) commented that the Chinese state has turned evening newspapers into profit making tools.

2.2.4 Dual Objectives of Evening Newspapers

“Economic benefits” (经济效益, *jing ji xiao yi*) and “social benefits” (社会效益, *she hui xiao yi*) are two terms which have been frequently used by Chinese propaganda officials and Chinese scholars to refer to what the Chinese evening newspapers aim to achieve. Yao (2010) explained that the term economic benefits refers to benefits to the evening newspapers themselves in terms of money, such as revenue, net cash flow and net income; social benefits refers to beneficial influences to the wider society caused by the newspapers reports, and it includes improving people’s standards of taste and encouraging people to think positively. The State required the evening newspapers to consider both social benefits and economic

benefits, but social benefits were primary (Li & Sun, 2005). This principle has been frequently clarified by Chinese leaders. In October, 1983, Deng Xiaoping (1994:42) pointed out that in the field of literature and art, there was an unhealthy trend of money-mania, and some people used vulgar and low-grade content and methods to make money, pandering to the low taste of some parts of the public. Deng (1994: 145) required that the thought and culture departments should place social benefits as the priority in all their work. At the January 1994 National Annual Meeting of Propaganda and Thought, Jiang Zemin gave a keynote speech where he stressed that the evening newspapers should place social benefits first, and under this fundamental condition, integrate the economic benefits and social benefits; when the economic benefits contradicted social benefits, the press should give top priority to social benefits (Liu, 2003).

Ha (2005) pointed out that following Deng Xiaoping's Southern Talk in 1992, the Party required Chinese journalists to use Deng's "Three Benefits" (三个有利于, *san ge you li yu*) as guidelines in their work: these three benefits are: whether it is conducive to the development of the productive forces of socialist society, whether it helps enhance the overall national strength, and whether it helps to improve people's living standards. Though Deng was the leader who initiated the economic reforms, he did not ignore the social roles that the businesses should fulfil. Ha (2005) wrote that Deng was strongly against putting money above all and he asked business people to put social benefits as their most important criterion. The Party demanded that the Chinese evening newspapers must not cause any negative social effects. It was explained by the authorities that reporting crimes may lead to more crimes, and reporting disasters may cause people to become nervous and panic. While this sounds reasonable and seems an easy way for the State to maintain social stability, actually, the truth may be that the State was avoiding the real problems. Lee (1990) argued that social benefits were only an excuse: the true motive was to hide the government's incompetence or mistakes. Further, in reality, it was difficult for

Chinese evening newspapers to follow this principle under commercial pressures (Wang, 2005).

In a text book that has been widely used in journalism courses at Chinese Universities, Fang (2002) wrote that news was a special commodity: it should be seen as both a propaganda tool and a commodity. He explained that, on one side, the evening newspapers should feed their readers with news that they want, and on the other side, the evening newspapers should guide the readers to the correct understanding, and to contribute to the Chinese socialist, cultural and ethical progress. Realizing the danger of going against the Party line, some Chinese researchers, such as Wang (2005) suggested that Chinese evening newspapers should follow a correct path, and should not sacrifice social benefits for economic benefits. Here, the correct understanding and correct path can be understood as something good for the Chinese Communist Party's governance and regime. Since Chinese researchers have been taught and trained with the Party's ideologies, most of them may have unconsciously stuck to the Party line.

Chen (1997) pointed out that evening newspapers were seen as important tools in social development, and the Chinese press had arrived at a new stage of development in the journalism theories of the Communist Party of China following Marxist ideology. He also argued that the Party's journalism theory had become more flexible, and the content had become richer: he concluded that journalism in China adjusted itself to serve the booming economic progress in a more flexible way. Zhao (1998: 14) pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party openly demanded that news carry its ideology and values, and the Party demanded that these values should be expressed through the selection, juxtaposition, and presentation of news.

2.2.5 Corruption in Journalism

Most journalists in China have experienced companies or government agencies providing “red envelopes containing cash” (红包, *hong bao*) when they are at the press conferences or during interviews. This amount can be from 200 Yuan (£20) to 1000 Yuan (£100) and it is explained by the providers as a travel expense, or meal subsidy (Jensen & Weston, 2006). It is not difficult to figure out that the real purpose of this money is to ensure that the story will be published. This phenomenon is called red envelope journalism. Jensen & Weston (2006) argued that red envelope journalism has been a problem in China since the press reform.

Zhao (1998: 76) pointed out that red envelope journalism should be counted as paid journalism (有偿新闻, *you chang xin wen*), and was a clear form of corruption. Zhao also pointed out that besides cash, journalists can get negotiable securities, gifts, reimbursements of receipts for personal expenses, personal favours such as jobs, housing, and education for family members and relatives, and other services from paid journalism rewards. The amount of cash has increased over the years: Although it began with only fifty Yuan, by 1992 the regular amount was around two hundred Yuan and by late 1994, the market price was three hundred Yuan for a news story and five hundred Yuan for a feature (Zhao, 1998: 76). Though payments or gifts are normalized and legitimized under different names, in fact it is a form of bribery, and bribery in journalism produces an abundance of advertising-as-news (Zhao, 1998: 79). Furthermore, this bribery not only exists through business clients, but through government clients. Some government officials have allegedly also paid reporters for feature stories boosting their images (Zhao, 1998:77). Lynch (1999) argued that this type of news can be found not only in the commercialized evening newspapers, but also in the Party’s newspapers. Lynch (1999) explained four reasons why paid news can exist in China: journalists’ low incomes, their poorly developed professional pride, difficulties in publishing serious journalism, and the lack of press laws in China to specify improper behaviour and corresponding punishments.

There are rules, and Zhao (1998: 81) pointed out that since the economic reform, the Party and the government have issued many regulations and guidelines to stop paid journalism. In the code of ethics issued by the Chinese Journalists Association in 1991, it is required that journalists should not publish any form of paid journalism, and journalism activities and business activities should be separated. However, these regulations are rarely enforced. Even worse, in some newspapers, paid journalism is not an individual activity, but it is a method encouraged by the newspaper management, in order to bring in money to the whole organization. Some new methods of paid journalism have been formed in recent years. Zhang (2004) showed several examples: the press use the excuse of exposing bad news about a business to force them to give money or contribute to their advertisements; journalists are required to cooperate with companies or government organizations, to promote their publicity, in order to generate revenue; some PR companies and agencies are acting as middlemen by buying and selling news on behalf of either newspapers or their clients to make money. Unfortunately, there has been little research on how paid journalism has influenced the content of evening newspapers: this may be because, with business secrets and unethical activities involved, it is difficult to research these issues. Zhao (1998: 84) argued that journalists are no more corrupt than any other occupational group in China, and that corruption is a structural problem.

2.2.6 Political Constraints on Freedom of Content

Zhao (1998: 167) argued that the Party turned a blind eye to content such as sensational news in evening newspapers, so long as these newspapers did not make political mistakes. Latham (2009) argued that Chinese evening newspapers today have the freedom to meet the demands of the market while also fulfilling their political responsibilities. Before press reform, Chinese newspapers were only deemed to be a propaganda tool of the Party, and their mission was to explain the government's policies, to educate the public and to win support for the construction of a new socialist world (Splichal, 1994; Cheek, 1997 & Spark, 1998).

Freedom of ownership is seen as the guarantor of democracy and a free press (Splichal, 1994). This theory may be true in most countries, but may be not the case in China. Press reform in China has changed the once state-owned Chinese news organizations into independent news groups, but they are still supervised by the Party. Latham (2009) pointed out that in the current Chinese press environment, most Chinese news outputs are politically cautious and dare not challenge the authorities. If some commercialized evening newspapers have challenged the ideological control of the Party, such as talking about social problems and criticizing some officials, most of these challenges were not fundamental (McCormick & Liu, 2003). Zhao (1998: 186) also argued that most of the challenges were concerned with softening the tones of political propaganda, moving beyond narrow political propaganda, and broadening content to include social and personal issues. Pan & Lu (2003) thought that the Chinese evening newspapers were still tightly controlled by government, and most of their practices in reporting the corrupt officials are no more than helping the Party to get rid of official corruption. Murphy (2009a) also stated that Chinese press has never been the watchdog of society, but rather an instrument following the Party's directives to educate individuals about values and ideologies. McCormick & Liu (2003) pointed out that press freedom in China is far from international standards of press freedom. Zhao (2008: 36) argued that this was not press freedom, but the evolution of Chinese censorship, "from the old totalitarian control mechanism to a new, looser system with some room for manoeuvre". Zhao (2008: 36) pointed out that in China, communication has never simply been an issue of free expression, and it has always been an integral part of political organization and social mobilization. The press in China cannot be seen as a public instrument of society, but the Party takes care of the media (Zhao, 2008: 24).

In the interview given to the "60 Minutes" programme from CBS, on August 15, 2000, Jiang Zemin, State Chairman of China at the time, stressed that "We do have freedom of the press, but such freedom should be subordinate to and serve the

interests of the nation” (Cheung, 2007). de Burgh (2003: 24–25) also pointed out that Chinese journalists function like state press officers, and he noted that the Chinese newspapers often published stories based on the interests of the Party. For example, as stipulated by the 1990 Provisional Regulations on Newspaper Management, all applications to publish a newspaper must be approved by the State Press and Publications Administration; all newspapers must carry an official registration number and the Party Committees will appoint the mainstream newspapers’ editors and the key editorial staff (Zhao, 1998: 20).

2.3 Concluding Remarks

The first part of this chapter has investigated the migrant workers’ issues in China. The findings in this part suggest that migrant workers have made a substantial contribution to the Chinese economy and to urbanization in China, but the Chinese government continues to treat them differently from urban workers. Migrant workers have experienced, and continue to experience numerous social disadvantages in urban cities. These findings enhance understanding of the problems that are faced by rural migrant workers, and the social policies on rural to urban migration.

The second part of this chapter has identified the characteristics of the commercialized Chinese evening newspapers and journalists working for these newspapers. The findings in this part have shown that there are some similarities between Chinese evening newspapers and the Western tabloid newspapers, both of which have to be run like a business. However, Chinese evening newspapers are under the Party’s supervision, rather than that of independent regulatory bodies. Chinese evening newspapers have more freedom than Party newspapers in the topics that they can report, as long as they do not challenge the Party’s regulations. Paid journalism and corruption have also become big issues for Chinese evening newspapers.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to identify the literature relevant to answering the research questions. Firstly, it provides a brief introduction to media representation of social issues; secondly, it examines the images of migrant workers depicted in the Chinese evening newspapers, and thirdly, it discusses the potential forces that shape the reports of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers.

Generally speaking, there has been a lack of research on the topic of representation of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. Previous studies have mainly shown consistently negative images of migrant workers with a heavy focus on crime, accidents, and low educational levels. These studies mainly argued that the evening newspapers conveyed the elite's discrimination against them. Most research in this area has focused only on data over a short timeframe, which makes it difficult to explore possible changes in the modes of representation. There is also a lack of literature on what forces shape migrant workers' reports in the evening newspapers. A few scholars explored how the Party's political ideologies influenced reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers, but none of the existing research approaches this topic with the frame of media commercialization in China, and the professionalization of Chinese journalists. The hypothesis in this study is that all the changes in politics, market forces and professionalization of Chinese journalists has increased the amount of positive imagery regarding migrant workers.

This review is structured by the research hypothesis, which is used to guide the research rather than being tested. A hypothesis was defined by Leedy & Ormrod (2001) as "a logical supposition, a reasonable guess, or an educated conjecture. It provides a tentative explanation for a phenomenon under investigation". The

hypothesis directs the research process towards the solution of the research problem or sub-problems, and it helps the investigator to collect the right kinds of data needed for the investigation (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). The hypothesis suggested in this section provides a framework for the later research, especially for the interview questions. The interview questions will be open-ended, since Leedy & Ormrod (2001) argued that a hypothesis should not be proved or disproved, and an investigator who sets out to prove a hypothesis would lose the impartiality of the research investigation. The hypothesis leads the researcher to a finding which explains the phenomenon in question, and it may eventually evolve into a theory.

This review is organized thematically, and covers three principal aspects addressed in the research: the role of politics in reporting migrant workers; the role of market forces in reporting migrant workers; and the part played by the professionalization of Chinese journalists in reporting migrant workers.

There are three types of source material involved in this review: historical books on media performance, media representation, media commercialization, and commercialization of Chinese media; research reports, articles, and papers which could identify problematic issues within media representation of social issues in both China and the West; and some popular resources, such as relevant news reports.

3.1 Media Representation of Social Issues

Media representation normally refers to the ways in which various groups are presented by the media (Levinsena & Wien, 2011). Levinsena & Wien (2011) argued that media representations are synonymous with Lippmann's (1991) concept of stereotypes, but without the current negative connotations. When using a stereotype or a media representation, the journalist invokes images already present in the readers mind. Thus, media representation of social issues can be understood as how media depict the poor, welfare recipients, teenage mothers, young people,

immigrants and so on. It also includes how media cover social policy, social security and social welfare issues. Media representations of social issues have been studied for more than 50 years, for example, Stensaas (1961) found that most stories about young people in American newspapers had a negative bias; Golding and Middleton (1982: 68) found that 31 percent of articles about social welfare in British newspapers in the second half of 1976, dealt with abuse; Larsen & Dejgaard (2013) found that there were many more stories on abuse of benefits in the UK than in Sweden and Denmark.

Previous research, within this area, has shown that media representations of social issues depend on media type and genre (Levinsena & Wien, 2011). Hallin and Mancini (2004: 11) pointed out that there are three existing media models: the Polarized Pluralist Model, the Democratic Corporatist Model and the Liberal Model. The first model is characterized by a close relationship between media and the government, weak commercialization, and a low degree of professionalization; the second model is characterized by declining political parallelism, combined with journalistic professionalization and the third model is characterized by strong commercial competition, tabloidization and sensationalism. Media in the UK was mainly seen as the Liberal Model. Thus, in most cases, it is the media's own news values, not social values, that shape their coverage of social welfare. Golding & Middleton (1982: 62-74) found that many important themes in general discussions of the welfare state were rarely mentioned, and that fraud was frequently reported in cases involving the unemployed or people under pensionable age claiming supplementary benefits. Abuse of social security, both by fraud or by putative excessive claiming, is a major theme of news coverage and is given great prominence. Franklin (1999) also noticed that reporting tends to focus on the shortcomings of policy decisions, and news coverage is accompanied by a greater emphasis on news stories of human interest rather than public interest, with a preference for short, pithy news items over sustained, lengthy and detailed analysis. Larsen & Dejgaard (2013) concluded that since the tabloid's genre is defined by its

tendency to be sensational, the tabloid press feature more negative stories, because negative stories are more sensational than positive stories. In most research on media representation of social issues in the UK, the media is assumed to contribute to negative stereotypes and stigmatization of the social groups due to the tabloidization. There has been little research on the longitudinal analyses of changes in media representations of various groups, and follow-up studies are also lacking.

The authoritarian corporatist model has widely been seen as the best to describe China's media. However, in recent years, all Chinese news media have become completely financially independent from the government, apart from a financially inconsequential subsidy (Redl and Simons, 2002: 21). Hearn-Branaman (2009) pointed out that a capitalism-based economy could coexist with any news media system. With the pro-capitalist ideology, the influence of advertisers and constraints on news sources, and at the same time a transition towards western media, incorporating professionalization, corporatization, secularization and conglomeratization (Hearn-Branaman, 2009), the Chinese media does not fit into any of the three models examined by Hallin and Mancini. Actually, the situation of media in China bears some of the characters of these three media models, such as "a high level of political and state intervention in social life and in the media coverage" of the "Polarized Pluralist Model" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 298), "a positive tool in circulating political information" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 298) of the "Democratic Corporatist Model", and "watch dog to the government and is used to distribute information to the public" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 299) of the "Liberal Model". Thus, these models offer some ideas for the analysis of the Chinese media, but cannot be applied to the Chinese context alone. The theories from the three media models will be integrated and combined to explain China.

3.2 Portrayal of Migrant Workers in the Chinese Evening Newspapers

In the late 1990s and early 21st century, migrant workers were often reported as anonymous masses in the Chinese evening newspapers. Zhang (2001) noticed that migrant workers were often referred to not as individuals with names, personalities and their own stories, but as flocks of raw labour that could be used and expelled at any time: photographs published in the evening newspapers tended to focus on a few selected moments of migrant life to create the typical images of migrant workers, for example, crowds of migrant workers were pictured buying tickets at the train station and depressed migrant workers were shown waiting hopelessly on the streets for jobs.

During the last 20 years, Chinese evening newspapers have used the phrases “tidal wave of migrant workers” (民工潮, *min gong chao*) and “shortage of migrant workers” (民工荒, *min gong huang*) to describe migrant workers during different periods. Liu (2007) & Cui (2003) explained that the usage of “tidal wave of migrant workers” implied a large mass of surplus labour rushing from rural areas to the cities. Liu (2007) pointed out that the phrase “shortage of migrant workers” was first used by Chinese evening newspapers in 2004, when the Chinese Ministry of Labour and Social Security published a report on the shortage of migrant workers, in which this phrase was used to describe the situation in the coastal areas of China. The reasons for this shortage were widely discussed in the evening newspapers: Lu (2005) and Shen (2010) explained that migrant workers had not returned, because their employment rights, health and safety had not been protected properly in the cities.

During the early months of 2010, the shortage of labour in the coastal cities was frequently mentioned again by Chinese evening newspapers. It was reported that some export-oriented factories had to hire workers from Vietnam and Burma (Zhong, 2010). It seemed paradoxical that this “shortage” was conceived at a time while China’s working age population climbed to a new high, reaching 981 million in 2010

(Chan, 2010b). Just a year before, the situation reported in the evening newspapers was the complete opposite: 23 million migrant workers were laid off because of the influence of the global financial crisis to Chinese manufacturing (Cai & Chan, 2009; Wang, 2010c). At the same time, there was a debate over whether China has reached the point, at which it would move from a vast supply of low-cost workers to a labour shortage economy in the evening newspapers (Chan, 2010b).

Apart from the discourse of “tidal wave of migrant workers” and “shortage of migrant workers” in the evening newspapers, Li & Qiao (2005) argued that there were many stereotypes about migrant workers in the evening newspapers, which usually described migrant workers as uneducated, ignorant, dirty, backward, unhygienic, and also with a high potential to be criminals. Zhang (2001) argued that the image of migrant workers in the evening newspapers was more like a problem rather than a group of people who were socially discriminated against, or a source of labour and services needed by a growing market economy. Cheng & Wen (2002) argued that migrant workers were frequently reported by the evening newspapers as the main group of criminals who disturbed the social order in the 1990s. Zhang (2001) argued that Chinese evening newspapers were keen on reporting exaggerated anecdotes about crime, drugs and prostitution associated with migrant workers. Howell (2009: 175) also pointed out that in China, migrant workers were frequently reported as ill-mannered and the source of rising crime rates. Xiao (2009) added that migrant workers were often described as “narrow-minded farmers”, who are “roughly spoken”, with “dirty hands and dirty feet” and who “defecate indiscriminately”. Also, it is very common for journalists in the evening newspapers to come to the conclusion that the number of crimes committed by migrant workers’ crimes has increased. For example, the *Xinwen Morning Post* wrote “Migrant workers’ crimes have increased year by year” (Luo, 2011). This article ignored the fact that the numbers of migrant workers had also increased yearly so they were being very selective and misleading in the numbers that they reported.

Reports about migrant workers' labour disputes and accidents are also frequently seen in the evening newspapers. Zhang, Fan & Li (2011) wrote there are many reports in the evening newspapers about migrant workers who have tried to obtain their unpaid wages, but were beaten to death or injured during pay disputes in recent years, and in some cases, migrant workers had no other choice, but to take their own lives.

Most of the literature paid attention to the stereotypes of migrant workers. Little existing literature contains research on the relatively positive representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers in recent years, though these types of reports have been frequently published, such as human interest stories about migrant workers, and charity activities aimed at migrant workers.

3.3 Main Factors that Shape the Reports in the Chinese Evening Newspapers

3.3.1 Political Influence

There has been little research conducted on the role of the effect of politics in how evening newspapers report migrant workers, but there is a possibility that these reports have been influenced by the Party. In this section, two approaches were used to explore how politics shapes the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. Firstly, the Party may require that the evening newspapers report on migrant workers in the way that it wants: the evening newspapers are obliged to serve the Party, follow the Party's mass-line journalism route and contribute to a harmonious society. Secondly, widely reported migrant worker friendly articles may have been used as a tool to promote the images of Chinese politicians and officials, helping evening newspapers to fulfil the art of public relations and image making, serving the Party's propaganda objectives.

3.3.1.1 Political Obligations of the Media

In Marxist media theory, in communist countries or authoritarian regimes, the media is obliged to serve the Party, and is seen as the mouthpiece of the government.

Political coverage is aimed at conveying a political message rather than covering facts and events (Voltmer, 2008). This implies that evening newspapers' attitude towards migrant workers depends on the government's attitude towards migrant workers.

As discussed in Chapter 3.2, in the 1990s and early 2000s, migrant workers were mainly reported as a danger to urban citizens. Bigo (2002: 65)'s "Govern through unease" theory is useful to explain this situation. Bigo's theory mainly focuses on international immigration, but it is also helpful to explain migration from the countryside to urban cities in China. The authorities "play with the citizens' unease, or encourage it if it does not yet exist, so as to affirm their role as provider of protection and security and to mask some of their failures. In this process, a large portion of urban people may have been contaminated by law and order visions about outsiders and accepted them" (Bigo, 2002: 65). Thus, the unexpected scale of the movement of migrant workers may have led the authorities to worry about losing control, so they may have encouraged the negative reports about migrant workers in the papers to cover up their non-performance and governing failures, making migrant workers scapegoats for many social problems.

The existing literature suggests that the Chinese government started to change its attitude towards migrant workers in the early 2000s. Froissart (2005) pointed out that there was a turning point during the years 2002-2003 in the attitude from the Chinese government towards migrant workers, especially in 2003, when custody and return (C&R) regulations were abolished, and this shows a great change in the attitude of the Chinese government to migrant workers. The trigger for this event was the Sun Zhigang case (see Note 6). Some media academics argued that it was media reports

that led the government to change policies towards migrant workers (Zhang, 2007), but it is also possible that the Chinese government had discussed abolishing C&R for a long time, and this event only sped up the change. It would appear that the media succeeded in this campaign, but the biggest winner might be the State, who used this opportunity to bring in their changes and claim the credit. At the same time, the Chinese government launched massive ideological campaigns, such as the adoption of the new slogans, constructing a socialist harmonious society, a society, which according to Hu himself, should feature democracy, the rule of law, equity, justice, sincerity, amity and vitality (Zhao, 2008). This changing attitude from the Chinese government towards migrant workers was seen by Zhao (2008: 272) as a strategy to ease the rising social unrest. No scholars have yet argued that evening newspapers changed their attitude toward migrant workers because the government changed attitude toward migrant workers, but it is quite possible this may have happened, because Chinese evening newspapers are obliged to serve the Party.

3.3.1.2 Mass-line Journalism

Deng (2005) argued that the press followed the Party's will to care about ordinary people: it was the Chinese government who required the ideology of mass-line (群众路线) journalism, then the Chinese press started to use livelihood news to report on ordinary people, and to show care for them. Though little research has been conducted on the relationship between mass-line journalism and reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers, it is quite reasonable that this mass-line journalism encouraged Chinese evening newspapers to publish more stories about ordinary people, especially migrant workers.

Zhao (1998: 131) explained that mass-line journalism means learning from the people and participating in their activities, and reporting about individuals and institutions at the grass roots level. Chu & Fang (1972) argued that mass-line journalism was derived from the Party's ideology of mass-line, which in turn was

brought forth as a concept to enable the education of journalists by the Party. Former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (1994:154) stressed that mass-line journalism means maintaining close ties with ordinary people, and it is one of the three elements that are essential for a successful press.

Mass-line is the primary Marxist method of revolutionary leadership of the people, and it is the basic political and organizational method of communism. This method was developed by Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party during the Chinese revolution. Steiner (1951) wrote that the Chinese Party frequently attributed their conquest of power to the pursuit of mass-line strategy: a method of leadership, by which the Party's leading cadres are intimately linked with the broad masses. This method was explained by Chinese leader Mao (1943) as "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership—such is the basic method of leadership." The mass-line is a very important part of the Chinese revolutionary tradition. Townsend (1977) pointed out that the theory of the mass-line, which is deeply implanted in Chinese Communist Party ideology, is probably the strongest part of the legacy of Maoist populism, and it has been accepted as a fundamental principle of the Chinese political system.

Liu Shaoqi (1998), who served as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, from 27 April 1959 to 31 October 1968, echoed mass-line journalism in a talk in 1948 by urging journalists to reflect the voices of the masses. As a top party propagandist in the 1950s, Deng Tuo also encouraged reporters to live among the masses, who were invited to write for themselves, and local activists were recruited as informants (Lee, 2005). Mass-line journalism is seen as an important part of Deng Xiaoping's journalism theory, which was formed in the 1970s & 1980s (Ha, 2005). Deng also stressed that the duty of the press is to work for the people "with heart and soul" (全心全意). Deng Xiaoping's journalism theory is seen as a complementary tool, an improvement and a development of Mao Zedong's thoughts on journalism (Lang &

Tong, 2000). Lei & Ha (2002)'s book shows that Deng Xiaoping's journalism thoughts have been widely discussed by Chinese researchers, and it seems that there is no clear distinction between "Deng Xiaoping's journalism theory" and "Mao Zedong's journalism thoughts". These terms may have been used interchangeably by Chinese researchers. Furthermore, on Nov 25th, 1989, Li Ruihuan, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, gave a speech at the national press conference, where he gave a detailed explanation of mass-line journalism, "The goal of our Party is to serve the people with heart and soul; apart from the interests of the people, the Party does not have its own interests. The Party represents the people. Therefore the press, which is the Party's eyes and ears, are also the people's eyes and ears" (Li, 1989). However, Lee (1990) argued that in China, the press are only loyal to the state, and the Party, but not the people. Zhao (1998: 154) argued that mass-line journalism is highly paternalistic in theory, but in reality, its performance was shaped by irresponsible and unaccountable Party leaders. It can be difficult to define who exactly are "the people"? Lynch (1999) argued that they could be defined as the general public, and de Burgh (2003: 142) referred to them as ordinary citizens. But Zhao (1998: 154)'s view was different, she thought that the people were the middle-class consumers targeted by the evening newspapers' advertising.

Though the details of mass-line journalism may have changed, the ideology of mass-line journalism has dominated journalism education until today. Originally, the Party used mass-line journalism to fulfil their political needs. But with the development of press reform, it may have unconsciously turned into a perfect marketing strategy. Lynch (1999) noticed that the Chinese press cared more about what the general public wanted, and so the content of the press tended towards the commercial or vulgar, in an effort to attract more readers and to sell more advertising. Lee (2005) analysed why mass-line journalism was well fitted to the press transition: it helped to make journalists and their audience allies of the emerging consumer culture without posing a challenge to the established political power. Zhao (1998: 155) drew the

conclusion that mass-line journalism has been employed to rationalize marketing strategies, and the Party's most important political slogans have found convenient expressions in the service mentality of a commercialized system. Not all journalists think they are working for the Party or the markets: de Burgh (2003: 140) found that by and large, the Chinese journalists saw themselves as representing the interests of the people, and their job was to provide accurate and timely information, to care about people's concerns and expose the wrongdoing of officials or exploiters. There are different opinions about the motivation of journalists pursuing mass-line journalism, and it is quite possible that mass-line journalism influences reports' about migrant workers in the evening newspapers.

3.3.1.3 Contributing to a Harmonious Society?

In recent years, the Chinese Communist Party has worked to build a harmonious society, and it requires evening newspapers to report more positive news and this principle may have influenced reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers.

One of the most important ideologies within the Chinese press, including the evening newspapers, is "emphasizing positive news" (正面宣传, *zheng mian xuan chuan*), which means mainly reporting good news, and thereby maintaining social stability, and contributing to building a harmonious Chinese society. Brady (2007: 95) argued that emphasizing positive news has been a phrase repeated like a mantra by successive Chinese leaders since 1989, after the Tian'anmen Square massacre. The headline news must emphasize positive propaganda, and it must publicize excellent political, economic and social situations (Zhao, 1998: 126). Positive reporting is particularly demanded during holiday periods, such as Chinese New Year, China's National Day and sensitive political dates; especially during Chinese New Year, the press is instructed to "increase reports on unity and stability, propagandize the unity between the army and the people, between the army and the government, the cadres

and the people, and ethnic harmony” (Brady, 2007:95). Brady (2007:95) argued that the Chinese Communist Party called on the press to do so in order to help Chinese citizens regain confidence in the political system after the crisis of 1989. On Nov 25, 1989, Li Ruihuan, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference gave a speech titled, “Emphasizing Positive Propaganda” at the national press conference, and in his speech, he mentioned “Emphasizing positive propaganda” 26 times (Li, 1989), and this indicated that emphasizing positive news has become a guiding principle in China’s propaganda work. Brady (2007: 95) pointed out that emphasizing positive news is in line with Deng Xiaoping’s idea of “stressing stability above all else”, which was adopted in the same period. Contradictory to Brady’s argument, Chinese researcher Ha (2005: 180, 214) explained that the principle of emphasizing positive news should be attributed to the influence of left-wing and socialist ideas: the press should report positively, and show only good news, and this phenomenon was particularly prominent during the Cultural Revolution (1965 to 1968).

Since China’s economic reform in 1978, Chinese journalists have regarded Deng Xiaoping’s theory as their guiding policy, and are encouraged to cast aside Mao’s leftist ideological dogmatism (Kuhn, 2010). Kuhn (2010) has argued that the Chinese press began not only to report good news, but also to report bad news, but in general, stabilization was still the main theme that ran through the Party’s press work from beginning to end. In Deng’s view, maintaining stability remained the top priority during the economic reform and Deng demanded that the press should contribute to social stability. However, “Liberate thought; seek truth from facts” was the ideological line of the Chinese Communist Party and it was also the core of Deng Xiaoping’s theory. Thus, only reporting news that can benefit social stability, but not reporting the truth, would seem contrary to Deng’s theory.

Since the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2002, building a harmonious socialist society has become an important task of the Chinese Party

and government. At a press conference in 2005, Yuan Yanfang (2005: 3), a deputy minister from the Hubei propaganda department, asked the press, whether they were a traditional press or a new press, whether they were from a Party newspaper or an evening newspaper, to guide public opinion correctly, and highlight the main theme of that period. Yuan (2005: 3) pointed out that there had been many conflicts during the development of the Chinese economy, and the press should help to deal with these conflicts and problems properly, and that this is an important goal in building a harmonious society; the press should also avoid worsening the conflicts and confusing people's minds. Following the Party's discourse, Chinese scholars Yu & Chen (2005: 47) wrote that the press can help to ease social pressures, develop a social consensus, and promote the development of society. Chinese scholars Li & Sun (2005:146) wrote that it was the job of the press to shape public opinion through many purposeful, effective reports, and to help build a harmonious society. It seemed that building a harmonious society has become a reasonable cause for the Chinese press to be cautious with their reports.

Building a harmonious society was not the only reason that caused the Chinese press to tend to report only positive news. Deng (2005: 226) added that because of the highly centralized system in China, the Chinese press lacks independence, and they are too scared to report many political issues and sensitive issues. Deng suggested that the Chinese press should report the problems and try to resolve them. Deng's opinion seems more critical compared to that of the other Chinese scholars', but Deng is still following the same ideology that the press should aim to help the government to resolve the problems.

Worrying about criticism and punishment for violating rules from the Party, most members of the Chinese press are pressurized into self-censorship, as Lee (1990) explained: the news might be suppressed, embargoed, or eviscerated, so the editors and the reporters themselves may have acted as the most effective censors of news. Thus, positive reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers may have

been encouraged by the editorial staff, but negative reports about migrant workers may have been blocked. However, if the principle of reporting positive stories has always been required by the Party, it will be difficult to explain the widespread negative reports about migrant workers that were published in the evening newspapers in the late 20th century and early 21st century.

3.3.1.4 A Public Relation Function for the Party

There is a considerable literature on how the evening newspapers can be used as a public relations tool, but none of the existing literature has ever related the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers to being a tool for the local politicians and government to build their images. This strategy by the authorities may have already influenced evening newspapers to publish more reports that are friendly to migrant workers, such as reports about charitable events organized to help migrant workers with the participation of local politicians and officials.

In the West, the press frequently act as an intermediary between politicians, government and the public. Press are often used by politicians and government as a means of building powerful images, and winning public support. Similar phenomena have occurred in the Chinese evening newspapers since the press reforms. He (2000) argued that the Chinese evening newspapers have transformed from a strict mouthpiece of the government into what he calls the “Party Publicity Inc”, to promote the Party image rather than brainwash people. Lam (2009) pointed out that as China has become increasingly integrated into the global capitalist order, the Chinese leaders began to use public relation strategies to publicise their activities and ideologies through the press; this was called “scientific management” of the Chinese government image. Zhao (2008: 39) pointed out that Chinese politicians had adopted Western-style media management techniques to build their public images.

Many books have been published to teach Chinese officials how to deal with the media and build positive images, for example: “Government and Public Relations” (Fei & Li, 2011), “How to Deal with the Media” (Zou, 2007), “Government Journalism Study” (2006) and “Case Study of Government Journalism Study” (2007). In “15 rules for Government Spokespersons”, a book aimed at government officials and government spokespersons, Professor Li (2006), who has become well known for masterminding the spokesperson system for the Chinese government and the Chinese military since 2000, taught Chinese officials how to use the media. Li (2006) stressed that the government should know how to change their politics into daily news, and how to change their daily work into press reports. Li’s theory was quickly appreciated by the Chinese government, and put into practice. This includes holding Western-style news conferences, inviting reporters to attend their internal meetings, and building a news spokesman system. Both the central government and local government are now required to hold routine press conferences in order to present themselves as more accountable, transparent, and people friendly (Lam, 2009). Training courses are also frequently offered for officials where they are taught how to handle the media and crises ranging from protests, labour disputes and natural disasters. Ye (2006: 279) states that the image of officials is the personification of government, what they are saying and doing stands for not only themselves, but also for the government, and it is necessary for officials to communicate with the public regularly to show their personal charm and promote positive messages through the media. Ye (2007: 154) also wrote clearly that the government should use media to build and promote their images. Zhao (2008: 39) argued that the art of public relations and image making is serving the Party’s propaganda objectives. There is plenty of evidence to show that Chinese media are helping to promote a “pro-people” popular leadership. For example, the Chinese media reported that Wen Jiabao, the former Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, helped migrant workers to collect their unpaid wages in 2003 (Zhang, 2003) and in 2007, Wen Jiabao suggested that a migrant workers’ show should be added to the Spring Festival Gala (Tu & Chen, 2007).

Wu (2007: 231) stressed that Chinese politicians and officials have used public relations tactics to promote themselves through reports in the evening newspapers, in order to build a good relationship between themselves and the public. Therefore, the positive reports about migrant workers involving politicians and officials in the evening newspapers may have been deliberately encouraged to help them build positive images. In these reports, local politicians and officials show sympathy and kindness to migrant workers, letting the ordinary people believe that they care about socially vulnerable people, and are wise leaders.

3.3.1.5 The Role of Propaganda

Currently, besides issuing the press with regulations and directives every so often, the Party uses two methods to input their ideologies to journalists: the education of journalism students and on-the-job training. Ding (1997:70) argued that the aim of journalism education in China was to train journalists with solid Marxist political beliefs. Hao & Xu (1997: 3) also pointed out that journalism students were taught that “journalism, in Lenin’s words, should consciously treat itself as part of the Party, consciously obey the Party and identify with the Party’s political stand”.

Before the 1980s reform, journalists were mainly working for the Party’s press, and were seen as the Party’s cadres. Tong (2011: 88) pointed out that, during that time, journalists were given positions within the political administrative system (编制, *bian zhi*), which meant a guarantee of a life-long job, and they were more like civil servants, mandated to obey the Party principle, and integrated into the orbit of the Party as a means of political control. Even today, this phenomenon still exists, and even when some commercialized evening newspapers recruit, the graduates who have already joined the Chinese Communist Party will be given priority.

At the same time, the Party has never ignored further education for working journalists. Ashe (2006) argued that the Central Propaganda Department played a key role in monitoring editors and journalists through a national registration system. Chinese journalists were frequently required to attend training courses on the role of Chinese Communist Party leadership in the press, national security law, regulations on governing news content, and journalism ethics. However, this does not necessarily mean that the newspaper managers only employed people “with a good sense of Marxism”. Open policies brought about dramatic social changes and rapid economic growth, and this stimulated press development, causing the industry to need more professional and qualified journalists and editors, who may have been recruited from a traditional journalism education background.

3.3.2 The Influence of Market Forces on the Content of Papers

Today’s Chinese evening newspapers are an outcome of the commercialization of the Chinese press, and without a doubt, market forces influence the evening newspapers’ content. The existing literature did not explore, very deeply, the extent to which the market forces influence the evening newspapers reporting of migrant workers, but there is a strong possibility that the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers may have been decided by the market.

3.3.2.1 From “Bad News” to Human Interest Stories

The main difference between the media industry and other industries is that businesses usually sell products or services to buyers, but media businesses, however, operate in what is called a “dual product” market (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001:26). Albarran (1996: 26) pointed out that they simultaneously sell to two completely different sets of buyers, “First, they produce the media products (newspapers, TV programs, etc.) that are marketed and sold to consumers (readers or viewers). Second, they provide access to consumers, which is sold to advertisers”.

Run like a business, the commercialized Chinese evening newspapers share some similar characteristics with the Western tabloid newspapers. Western media theories on media business are therefore also suitable to explain Chinese evening newspapers. In order to be profitable, Chinese evening newspapers have to attract both readers and advertisers, and it means their content will be influenced by both of these groups.

The relatively negative representation of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers in the late last century and early 2000s have been widely noticed by media scholars. Florence (2006) pointed out that the articles were mainly descriptions of rural masses coming into cities to threaten law and order and social stability. This phenomenon was explained from the perspective of the market by Tan (2007). He argued that the readers of evening newspapers at that time were mainly native urban citizens and the evening newspapers spoke for them, ignoring or being against other groups of people. Also, “bad” news sells. Esarey (2005) found that the Southern Metropolitan Newspaper, an evening newspaper in South China, published many sensational photos and articles about local concerns: crime, corruption and pollution. These kinds of reports can easily stand out and help to sell the newspapers. Thus, it may not be that the readers like to read “bad” news about migrant workers, but that they may have to pay attention to this news, for example, readers who read about crimes committed by migrant workers may be concerned that similar events may happen to them. For this reason, the negative images of migrant workers may have been a popular topic for Chinese evening newspapers in the past.

In recent years it is apparent that migrant workers were often represented as a socially marginalized group in the Chinese evening newspapers, and there were frequent reports about their hard lives and articles offering help to them. These types of stories are referred to as human interest stories (see Chapter 1.5) by journalists and scholars. McQuail (1992: 269) explained why these types of reports were popular: “the media can help individuals to feel attached to the wider community and society and to share in its collective life, on the basis of sympathetic fellow-feeling,

especially for others in difficulties of various kinds”. That is, news stories can help readers to understand the problems of others, and make them feel their lives are not so bad after all. Wu (2007: 115) pointed out that the readers were emotionally touched by these human interest stories, and these stories were one of the secrets of evening newspapers’ success. Wu (2007: 84) showed an example that in 1996, Beijing Evening News encouraged migrant workers to write their own stories and published them in the newspaper, and these stories received positive feedback. However, there were not enough evening newspapers willing to tell the stories of migrant workers during that period. Liu & Zhang (2004) argued that creating an emotional attachment between the readers and the suffering migrant workers in the news story was one advantage of evening newspapers. Besides, a lot of evening newspapers published articles to encourage the public to help migrant workers in difficulties, and many readers became involved. The most typical action was to donate money for migrant workers. McGuire (1974)’s affiliation theory is useful to explain this phenomenon: mutual helpfulness and reciprocal positive effects drive people to establish connections with other people. Helping others brings the readers great feelings of satisfaction and happiness.

Another benefit of publishing human interest stories about migrant workers is that these reports are cheap to produce. McManus (1994) summarized the forces which can influence the production of news in terms of the market model: less harm to investors or sponsors, fewer costs in covering it and more appeal to the readers and advertisers. It seems that reporting human interest stories about migrant workers has little risk, and little cost, too.

Most news about migrant workers is published in the “News Hotline Pages” (新闻热线版, *xin wen re xian ban*) and this indicates that the main sources of these stories are from newspapers’ News Hotlines (see Chapter 1.5). Almost all the evening newspapers have opened 24 hour News Hotlines. Li & Zhou (2006) argued that the emergence of News Hotlines is an output of press reform, and can encourage

more news of human interest, showing that the press care about issues concerning people's livelihoods. Li & Zhou (2006) 's opinion ignored the economic benefits of the News Hotline: it is also a lazy way to obtain news sources without leaving the office. Most of the stories and interviewees will be in the local city, therefore journalists from the evening newspapers do not even have the worry of going on a long journey, and the newspaper owners need not worry about the expense, either. However, there has been a great deal of research on why the evening newspapers have published more human interest stories, but less research on why there has been a reduction in the once shocking and attractive negative reports about migrant workers. It is also a puzzle why almost all of the Chinese evening newspapers started publishing human interest stories around the same time.

3.3.2.2 Classified Advertising and Migrant Worker Readers

The existing research on classified advertising shows that Chinese evening newspapers have been using classified advertising to win more income. Little research has been conducted on the connection between classified advertising and migrant workers, but classified advertising aimed at migrant workers in the evening newspapers has already brought a lot of income to the newspapers, and this may have driven evening newspapers to be friendly to migrant workers.

The difference between classified advertising and standard advertising is that classified advertising allows private individuals to solicit sales for products and services. Hu (2007) pointed out that 5 years ago, 5% of the advertising income of evening newspapers was from classified advertisements, but now in Guangzhou, the total is over 20%, and in Beijing is over 25%. Bao (2004) found that there were over 200 classified advertisements in the Wenzhou Metropolis Daily in 2001, over 600 in 2002, over 1000 in 2003, and over 1300 in 2004. Most of the classified advertisements are job vacancies, flats and houses to rent, business information and domestic work information. Nearly all evening newspapers have job information for

migrant workers, and the job positions include chefs, sales assistants, childminders, porters, restaurant waitresses, and so on. Some evening newspapers even opened a special hotline to help migrant workers look for jobs (Zeng, 2012). Migrant workers are frequently advised by job agencies to buy evening newspapers, and to check their classified advertisements when they are looking for jobs, even if they are not regular readers of evening newspapers (Wang, 2010). Classified advertising has built a bridge between employers, either companies or individuals and migrant workers, and it has brought profit to evening newspapers.

Until today, there have been few Chinese evening newspapers that have clearly claimed that migrant workers are their target readers. Chen Wenju, Chief Editor of Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper from Chengdu, Sichuan Province, one of the most popular commercialized evening newspapers in China, pointed out that the readers of their newspapers are urban citizens, including migrant workers who are living and working in the cities (Wu, 2007: 40). Wu (2007:3) also argued that though migrant workers are still classified as peasants by the system, they live in the cities, and they have close connections with the other urban citizens; they care about the news that urban citizens care about, and they should be included as evening newspapers' readers. Also, given the help and support aimed at migrant workers by the Chinese evening newspapers and the numerous classified advertisements in the evening newspapers, it could be assumed that most Chinese evening newspapers may have already included migrant workers as their target readers. According to the PRC National Bureau of Statistics survey, Chinese migrant workers totalled 229 million in 2009 (Liu, 2010), which is about 18% of the total Chinese population, and most migrant workers want to settle down in the city. Surveys conducted in 2007 showed that 78.5% of migrant workers would settle down in the cities if it were possible, whereas in 2005, this number was 63.6% (Liu & Chen, 2008). With increasing urbanization in China, there will be 150 million to 200 million migrant workers settling down in the cities in 10 years time. Fan Jianping, the director of the Department of Economic Forecasting of the State Information Centre, pointed out

that migrant workers will be the most powerful consumer group in the near future (Li, 2009). Even the migrant workers, who may have no plans to stay in the cities in the long run, have already become important urban consumers. It is quite normal for migrant workers to buy mobile phones, cameras and computers in the cities, either to use themselves or to send home. A survey carried out in 2007 shows that 66% of migrant workers own mobile phones, 11% of migrant workers own computers and 9% of migrant workers have already bought apartments in the city (Yan, 2007). This population may have become big prey for retailers and Chinese evening newspapers are one of the most efficient ways to approach them. Some research indicates that migrant workers have already become readers of Chinese evening newspapers. A survey conducted in 2008 showed that 28.8% of migrant workers read newspapers regularly (Sun & Fu, 2008) and another survey showed that 3.8% of migrant workers found jobs through the “job vacancies” column in evening newspapers (Liu & Chen, 2008). However, Zhao (2003) held a different opinion, arguing that news media tend to care only about the opinions of the permanent urban residents, excluding the millions of migrant workers. Zhao’s opinion was not convincing, because the media may have changed their market strategies because of the increased population and increased income of migrant workers. Croteau & Hoynes (2001) also argued that the poor rural and urban working-class populations had little to do with the media industry and advertisers. Their arguments might well explain why, at the beginning of media commercialization, migrant workers’ interests and needs were ignored by the Chinese evening newspapers, but cannot explain the changes that happened later on.

3.3.2.3 The Influence of Homogenized Competition on Content

Homogenized competition was explained by Sun (2008) as different evening newspapers, especially ones published in the same area, telling the same stories in a similar way. No existing literature has related reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers to the homogenized competition among the Chinese evening

newspapers. However, there is a possibility that this homogenized competition may have driven evening newspapers to make similar representations of migrant workers.

The existing literature shows that in 2003, many evening newspapers followed up reports on the Sun Zhigang case (see Note 6), after the Southern Metropolitan Newspaper first reported it. The Sun Zhigang case (see Note 6) was a milestone event for the media representations of migrant workers and it also indicated fierce media competition. Not only the readers of evening newspapers, but also TV news audiences and Internet users participated in all forms of discussions all over the country. Yu (2006) argued that all these “actions” influenced public opinion and eventually pushed the government to change the policy. Pan (2009) pointed out that media played an important role in the Sun Zhigang case (see Note 6). However, this does not mean that the media worked together to change government policies, they may only have reported the same story to avoid losing out to the competition.

As well as “competing on price” (价格战, *jia ge zhan*) , in order to win readers, evening newspapers have to offer promotional gifts and discount vouchers. However, the most important competition will be competition on content: the papers wish to publish exclusive reports and not to miss any important news. Peng (2005) pointed out that if a journalist missed any important news, they will be fined by their employers. Therefore, when one big story appears in one evening newspaper, most of the other evening newspapers may also have to pursue it. For the evening newspapers in the same area, this homogenized competition may be also caused by the reality that the evening newspapers rely on the same sources, they have the same advertisers, and they share the same market. This indicates that they may have to take a similar attitude towards the same group of people. However, since almost all of the evening newspapers engaged in similar reports, it is difficult to tell how these kinds of reports have helped them to compete against each other.

3.3.3 Professional Practices of Chinese Journalists

Many Chinese evening newspapers have published reports to protect the human and labour rights of migrant workers, and have questioned the government's policies on migrant workers' issues in recent years (Zhang, 2006). They have spoken for disadvantaged people, including migrant workers, and turned public opinion against injustice and violations of the rights of citizens (Sun, 2009). It shows that the evening newspapers in China have been doing a similar job to that of their counterparts in the West: criticizing the government and upholding social justice. The current literature has not gone far enough when discussing how the professionalization of Chinese journalists, especially their changing professional practices have influenced the reports about migrant workers, but it is feasible that the changing professional practices of Chinese journalists is one of the reasons that encouraged many journalists to work on reports like these.

The professionalization of Chinese journalists was seen as one of the characteristics of the commercialized evening newspapers (Xu, 1994). Shi (2011: 229-230) argued that the current professionalization in journalism in China came from the West: in the 1980s, the university journalism students started to learn professional standards from literature on the media which was beginning to be taught in Chinese universities, and in 1990s, most of them held senior positions in the media; as a result, the Chinese journalists have become more professional. A typical recent example of the changing professional practices of Chinese journalists is that in March 2010, thirteen Chinese newspapers, including evening newspapers, published a joint editorial calling for the abolition of the household registration system which has brought a lot of unfairness to migrant workers (Branigan, 2010). However, these actions can also be explained as these thirteen newspapers wanting to become better known to the public and to attract more readers.

3.3.3.1 Watchdog Journalism

Similar to the practice of Western journalists, Chinese journalists have kept an eye upon society and drawn attention to what the authorities had missed; they believe that journalism should be responsible for people's needs, improving the conditions of society and punishing wrongdoers (de Burgh, 2003: 147). These kinds of watchdog reports are widely called critical reports (批评报道, *pi ping bao dao*) in China: de Burgh (2003: 140–141) pointed out that Chinese journalists do, at present, have a passion for journalism which scrutinizes authority, and they also believe that reports can put things right and reflect what people really think and care about. Based on the Western definition of journalism professionalism and the reality of the situation of Chinese journalists, Li (2012) drew the conclusion that Chinese journalists had become more professional by respecting the truth, and conducting comprehensive, objective and fair reports. Polumbaum (1990a) argued that the press reforms encourage Chinese journalists to be “aspiring professionals”. Pan (2000a, b) pointed out that Chinese journalists have accepted some aspects of the Western professionalism, and developed it in their own way. However, Zhao (1997) does not think Chinese journalists have become professional, and her view is that Chinese journalistic editorial independence has emerged directly from journalists' passions and their own consciences. Zhao (1997)'s opinion exaggerated the role of the individual, and ignored the large scale changes in journalists' practice.

Some Chinese editors have a strong sense of professionalism: they can stay ahead of censors by printing reports that are off the Propaganda Department's radar screen (Borton, 2004). When earthquakes occurred in Sichuan in 2008, and in Qinghai in 2010, many editors sent reporters to cover those events ignoring orders from the Propaganda Department not to go (Branigan, 2010). There are plenty of other examples of Chinese journalists becoming more professional. In November 2009, Hu Shuli, the editor of the influential business magazine *Caijing*, was forced to resign after publishing so many sensitive reports in the magazine. She didn't give up, and has since founded another publication, *Caixin*. In May 2010, Bao Yueyang, chief

editor and publisher of China Economic Times, was demoted to a smaller sister company after defending reporter Wang Keqin's report linking incorrectly stored vaccines to child deaths and sickness (Branigan, 2010).

However, Zhao (2000) argued that when the press reports a scandal, they will criticize the individuals' moral problems rather than systemic failure. Pan & Lu (2003) pointed out that many members of the press played tactically and used strategies to produce many popular and lucrative reports, but only to "swat the flies, but not beat the tigers" (只打苍蝇, 不打老虎, *zhi da cang ying, bu da lao hu*) . More than 20 years previously, Lee (1990) already pointed out that it was easy for Chinese journalists to publish complaints about consumer issues such as buses running behind schedule or traffic jams, but difficult to include criticism involving politics or politicians. de Burgh (2003: 120) thinks that Chinese journalists rarely fulfil their social responsibilities even though they have publicly promised to be guardians of public virtue: they declared that they were working for the people, but they unhesitatingly promoted the government's policies. Zhao (1998: 159) also argued that most of these challenges were not fundamental, and she explained that the commercial interests drove Chinese evening newspapers to behave in this way: politically controversial and dissenting material always sells. Cheung (2007) argues similarly to Zhao, pointing out, that in order to attract readers and advertise, these newspapers were bold and aggressive.

It is also possible that the Party may deliberately give evening newspapers some freedom, to release some tension between government control and the public. Chang (1989) argued that these critical reports may have already been used by the Party as a means to their own ends. These critical reports began to appear in the press in 1980, even in the biggest Party newspaper, People's Daily (《人民日报》), and critical reports were seen as indispensable by the Party (Chang, 1989). A meeting to promote critical reports was held in 1984 by the Propaganda department, claiming that good critical reports would bring the Party and people closer together, enhance the prestige

of the Party, and raise the credibility of newspapers among the people (Chang, 1989). This shows that the Chinese Communist Party has used critical reports to safeguard its political rule for a long time. Luo (2005) argued that critical reports in the evening newspapers on those who exploit disadvantaged people can help to ease the conflicts between the rich and the poor, and the powerful and powerless, and in this case, the evening newspapers act as a pressure reducing valve for the society.

3.3.3.2 The Role of Reports in Helping Socially Disadvantaged People

Reports in the evening newspapers speaking for and helping socially disadvantaged people, including migrant workers, can raise popular consciousness of the plight of socially marginalised groups, draw attention to and generate public sympathy for these disadvantaged groups, and bring public opinion against injustice and violations of citizen's rights (Sun, 2009). Although no scholars have researched this issue before, it is possible that the changing professional practices of Chinese journalists have encouraged journalists to engage with this type of report.

Traditionally, the concept of disadvantaged has mainly focused on race, ethnic group, poverty or sex, but Mayer (2003) argued that this term also implied situations where a group of people was denied access to the tools needed for self-sufficiency, and therefore, people should be seen as a disadvantaged group when they are denied access to and use of the same tools found useful by the majority of society. Mayer (2003) pointed out these tools include autonomy, incentives, responsibility, self-respect, community support, health, education, information, employment, capital, and responsive support systems. Thus, in today's China, the disadvantaged people, referred to above are the laid-off workers, people outside the "work unit" (单位, *dan wei*) system, disabled people, single old people and migrant workers. Reports that show compassion for disadvantaged people have been classified under

“livelihood news”, which tends to be people-oriented, showing humanity, sympathy or empathy.

Not only by reporting more disadvantaged peoples’ stories to show their concern, the evening newspapers also started “Caring Projects” (关爱工程, *guan ai gong cheng*) for them. He et al. (2005) wrote that, since April, 2002, Wuhan Evening News (《武汉晚报》) has launched a charitable section “Aid Action” (关爱行动, *guan ai xing dong*), to use one page every week to organize and report “Caring Projects”, and these projects included helping the poor financially, rescuing people in emergency situations and sponsoring children in need. The journalist who is in charge of this section is called “Great Kindness” by the readers. Some scholars argued that these “Caring Projects” reports were planned news (Wang, 2005a). Xi Wenju, former Chief Editor of Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper, put forward the concept of “news planning” (新闻策划, *xin wen ce hua*), such as projects similar to the “Caring Projects” organized by Wuhan Evening News. Xi argued that news planning was the result of media competition (Wang, 2005a). In recent years, Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper has organized events like those helping migrant workers to ask for their defaulted wages, and sponsoring university students who are in financial difficulties. Wang (2005a) wrote that by mounting these charitable events, the newspapers became closer to ordinary people, meeting their requirements and helping them to solve problems, and so it won support from them. These planned projects did help some people and solved their problems, but it is also quite obvious that news planning helps to build the images of evening newspapers, which is a very crucial strategy to success in a competitive media market. The involvement of journalists in the news has been accepted by many Chinese journalists and scholars. He et al. (2005) suggested that journalists should not only report news, but also participate in news events and in doing so, journalists can use their public appeal and influence, to organize and coordinate, and promote the process of news events. Some journalists and scholars are against planned news, but Wang (2005) pointed out that

being profit-driven, some evening newspapers even made up news and made publicity stunts, causing fake news to be circulated, which is against the ethics and standards of journalism.

These livelihood news reports quickly won recognition from the Chinese government, and Peng (2008) explained that this type of report met the needs of the development of a “healthy” socialist state, fitting into the Party’s ideology. Yuan Yanfang, deputy minister from the Hubei propaganda department, told the press that they should pay more attention to disadvantaged people in order to construct a democratic environment for public opinion (Yuan, 2005). Many researchers argued that it was the Chinese journalists’ own professional values that led them to care about the disadvantaged and report in their interest (Yu & Chen, 2005: 57). At the same time, some scholars argued that focusing on disadvantaged people is against the commercial interests of the evening newspapers. Luo (2005) argued that evening newspapers usually aimed their articles at rich and middle-class people, who have consumer power, and the evening newspapers cared more about them than they did about the disadvantaged

3.4 Concluding Remarks

At the beginning of this chapter, there was a general discussion on how media represent social issues and how migrant workers were being reported during the last two decades. The most noteworthy finding from this section is that the relevant literature about the three forces, including politics, market forces, the professionalization of Chinese journalists that shape the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers have been identified. The analysis in this chapter has shown that these three forces are all very important in the portrayal of migrant workers. The role of politics in reporting migrant workers is discussed. The evening newspapers may have to keep in step with the Party’s changes when reporting on migrant workers, or follow the Party’s mass-line journalism to report more news

about ordinary people, including migrant workers. The requirement from the Party for the Chinese media to contribute to a harmonious society may urge more positive reports about migrant workers. More reports about charitable events aimed at migrant workers have helped the politicians and officials to build pro-people images.

The role of market forces in reporting migrant workers is also discussed. The trend towards commercialization is likely to have encouraged more sensational news about migrant workers in the past and more human interest stories about migrant workers today. From the largely increasing numbers of classified advertisements and the growing consumer power of migrant workers, it could be assumed that migrant workers may have already become important readers of evening newspapers. Indicated by the similar coverage among the evening newspapers, the on-going homogenized competition may have driven evening newspapers to write similar stories about migrant workers, and to show similar attitudes towards them.

The role of professionalization of Chinese journalists in reporting migrant workers is discussed finally from the perspective of their changing professional practices: growing watchdog journalism and growing numbers of reports to help socially disadvantaged people. The amount of positive imagery regarding migrant workers may increase, such as more objective reports about migrant workers and more reports protecting migrant workers' rights. Migrant workers also appear in news items as individuals and not as stereotyped members of a subgroup; that is, migrant workers are allowed to speak for themselves. These changes may be the outcome of the professionalization of Chinese journalists.

Based on these related literature, the working hypothesis for this study is clear: the reporting of migrant workers in the evening newspapers may have been influenced by all these factors: politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists. These three factors may not work alone, and they may work against each other or with each other. The changing representation of migrant workers in the

evening newspapers may be the result of the competitive gaming among these three factors. There may be other factors which also decide the representations of migrant workers, and they need to be discovered in further research.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Introduction

The purposes of this study were to examine the representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers over the last two decades, and to examine the factors that had shaped reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. The purposes of this chapter are to (1) describe the research aims and choices, (2) explain the data collection methods (3) provide an explanation of the newspaper content analysis, newspaper discourse analysis and thematic content analysis as data analysis techniques, and (4) display the limitations in adopting these research methods.

4.1 Aims and Research Choices

This research aims to understand the representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers over the last two decades, and to examine what factors had influenced reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. Thus, two key research questions were identified:

(1) How had migrant workers been represented in the Chinese evening newspapers over the last two decades? This section investigates how migrant workers were depicted in the Chinese evening newspapers in the period from the 1980s/1990s (when the commercialized evening newspapers were founded) until 2010.

(2) What were the factors that had influenced the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers? This section explores the role of politics, market forces and professionalization of Chinese journalists in the news coverage of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers.

The research methods were selected based on the research objectives:

(1) To answer the first question, newspaper content analysis and discourse analysis were used. The proportion of reports with negative or positive representations of migrant workers at several different time points was examined. These data were plotted to provide a visual display of these reports, and to explore the general reporting trends of the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. The individual reports about migrant workers at different time points were also analysed by using discourse analysis.

(2) To answer the second question, the roles of politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists in shaping the reports about migrant workers, in the Chinese evening newspapers over the last two decades were analyzed based on the related literature and in-depth interviews with journalists in the evening newspapers.

4.2 Data Collection Methods

Jinan, the capital city of Shandong province was chosen as the city from which the case study was taken. The four main evening newspapers in this city were selected, and the reports and interview data were obtained from these newspapers and journalists who were previous or current employees of these newspapers.

4.2.1 A Case Study: Four Evening Newspapers in Jinan

Unlike tabloid newspapers in the UK, all evening newspapers in China are city-based, and they mainly report local news, aimed at readers in the same city. For example, in Beijing, Beijing Evening News, New Beijing Times, Law Evening News and Jinghua Times are different evening newspapers aimed at Beijing residents, and

in Chengdu, Chengdu Evening News, Chengdu Metropolitan Newspaper and Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper are the main evening newspapers aimed at the residents of Chengdu. Jinan was chosen as the case study city. The reasons for choosing Jinan: firstly, Jinan is the capital of Shandong province, with a population of 6.4 million, including about 200,000 migrant workers. There have been a large number of reports about migrant workers in the local newspapers, and these reports offer rich data for the researcher to explore. Secondly, evening newspapers in Jinan are typical or representative of evening newspapers in most of the other cities in China. For example, in Beijing, evening newspapers are under strict control of the Party, since Beijing is the political centre of China; evening newspapers in Guangzhou are widely known as the most commercialized evening newspapers in China (Zhang & Luo, 2012). Thus, findings from evening newspapers in Jinan can apply to most of the other evening newspapers in China, and these findings indicate the main trends of how evening newspapers have developed over the years. Thirdly, rich experience of evening newspapers in Jinan, and easy access to journalists who worked or still work for these newspapers, led the researcher to choose Jinan as the case study city. Jinan is the researcher's home city, and many journalism contacts were established there. Also, having previously worked in Jinan for two years as a journalist at the Jinan Times, the researcher has a lot of journalist friends who are happy to be interviewed. The interviewees may refuse to talk about sensitive topics, such as the Party's propaganda regulations and the Party's ideological work if they are not familiar with the interviewers, and this may lead to a lack of data. However, this will not be the case if the interviewers and interviewees are familiar with each other. Tierney (1994) argued that interviewees may feel more comfortable and open to talk if they are familiar with the researchers. Since the researcher was their colleague before, it was more likely that the interviewees would discuss their real working experiences and thinking. Therefore, by collecting data in Jinan, the researcher could obtain higher quality data.

Four main evening newspapers in Jinan were chosen as research objects. These four evening newspapers are Qilu Evening News (《齐鲁晚报》), Life Daily (《生活日报》), Jinan Times (《济南时报》) and Shandong Commercial News (《山东商报》). The reasons for choosing all four evening newspapers rather than one, two, or three of them are the following. Firstly, there are four main evening newspapers in Jinan altogether, and choosing all of them as objects for research can help to achieve a more comprehensive and systematic study than choosing fewer evening newspapers. Secondly, using several newspapers reduces the chance of the results being biased by one or two “odd” newspapers that do not follow the typical trends. Thirdly, there are some differences among these four evening newspapers: for example, they have different degrees of political influence. Qilu Evening News, Shandong Commercial News and Life Daily are provincial newspapers and Jinan Times is a city-level newspaper. Rules introduced by the Propaganda Department have a strict hierarchy, which prohibits city newspapers from reporting many issues, such as they cannot criticize provincial officials. It seems that this gives Jinan Times less political freedom than the other 3 provincial evening newspapers. However, comparing to the other three Party-founded evening newspapers, Shandong Commercial News was founded by a state owned commercial group, and is often looked down upon by the authorities, which limits their news sources (*from interview with Fazheng*). There are different degrees of commercialization among these four evening newspapers. For example, Journalists have been encouraged to bring advertisements to the Jinan Times, while they are working on their reports. This phenomenon rarely exists in the other three newspapers. Taking into account these variations helps to answer the research questions.

According to the China Newspaper Industry Report released in 2010 (Yan, 2010), the market shares of these four evening newspapers are: Qilu Evening News 33.07%, Shandong Commercial News 24.52%, Life Daily 19.15 % and Jinan Times 23.26 %.

Qilu Evening News (《齐鲁晚报》) : Qilu Evening News is owned by Dazhong News Group, which also owns the Party newspaper Dazhong Daily (《大众日报》), Life Daily and many other titles throughout Shandong Province. With a daily circulation of 1,350,000, Qilu Evening News is the fourth largest circulation newspaper in China, and the 22nd in the world. It is a provincial evening newspaper, mainly distributed in Shandong Province. It is also the oldest evening newspaper in Shandong Province. It is the best selling evening newspaper in the Jinan evening newspapers' market.

Shandong Commercial News (《山东商报》) : Shandong Commercial News is owned by Lushang (Shandong Merchants) Media Group, and it has the second largest circulation in Jinan. Lushang Media Group also owns Shandong News Website, New Wave Magazine, Quality Magazine, New Folk Stories Magazine, as well as providing web content for mobile phones, publishing CDs and DVDs as well as radio and television advertisements. The Media Group is one part of the Lushang Group, which is a state owned commercial group. The profits for this group were 25.6 billion Yuan last year. This group owns the largest supermarket chain in Shandong Province, which is called "Yinzuo".

Life Daily (《生活日报》) : Life Daily is also owned by Dazhong News Group. The main difference between Qilu Evening News and Life Daily is that the latter focuses on family issues with great emphasis on leisure, consumer matters and entertainment. It is aimed at people with families. Life Daily is also circulated throughout Shandong province. Life Daily is listed as the fourth highest circulation evening newspaper in Jinan now.

Jinan Times (《济南时报》) : Jinan Times is owned by the Jinan Daily News Group. It has a circulation of 500,000. Jinan Times is a city evening newspaper, and only distributed in the Jinan area. The reports in this paper concentrate on news from

Jinan city, whereas the other 3 include news from across Shandong Province: including from the cities of Qingdao, Zibo, Rizhao, Yantai as well as occasionally from the countryside.

This case study into the Jinan evening newspapers market is the preferred choice in understanding media phenomena, and the main advantage of this case study is that it allows the researcher to study one aspect of a real-world problem in detail from many different viewpoints. Gillham (2000:1) emphasized that one fundamental characteristic of a case study is that the researcher does not start out with a priori theoretical notions, whether they are derived from the literature or not, s/he normally obtains the data and understands the context from the case study, and after that, s/he can discover the theories and explanations that can answer his/her research questions. Yin (2003:10) questioned whether these theories and explanations could explain the whole phenomenon or not, and whether or not the researcher can generalize from a single case. However, he argued later that the goal of doing a case study was to expand and generalize theories, and not to enumerate the frequencies. Lipset, Trow & Coleman (1956: 419-420) also pointed out that the goal of a case study is to do a “generalizing” and not a “particularizing” analysis. Thus, the results of this study are assumed to be generalizable, and this means that they are also applicable to other similar situations in Chinese evening newspapers’ markets. Apart from evening newspapers in the most developed cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, in most Chinese cities, the ownership, business model and editorial strategies of evening newspapers are quite similar, and these evening newspapers have similar market positions and target similar readers. This case study in Jinan is a sample that represents evening newspapers in most other cities in China.

Sampling the Reports

The four evening newspapers in Jinan were founded in different years, and this should be considered when choosing sampling times. Qilu Evening News was founded on Jan 1, 1988; Shandong Commercial News was founded on Mar. 12, 2001; Life Daily was founded on Jan. 1, 1997; Jinan Times was founded on Jan. 1, 1996. Data were selected from across the whole time range that these newspapers had been published so that long term trends can be seen. As the time restraints on this thesis did not allow for the reports from each year to be examined, three sampling years for each newspaper were selected. In order to cover a longer dynamic time range, the year that each paper was founded was selected. In order to get comparatively up to date information, data from year 2010 were chosen.

Froissart (2005) argued that the years 2002-2003 symbolized a turning point in the attitude of the Chinese government towards migrant workers. Chapter 3.3.1.2 has discussed how the Communist Party of China first pledged to build a "harmonious society" in its 16th national congress in late 2002. In 2004, this ideology already had its impact on some social policies. The 4th Plenum of the 16th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee was also held in 2004, and it symbolized the completion of the process of transferring power to the "Fourth Generation" of Chinese leadership, which began two years ago at the Congress. Thus, the political environment has already changed in 2004, with the idea of "harmonious society" being put into practice. Therefore, 2004 was chosen as the other sample year. The sampling plan was designed to minimize distortion of the newspaper's content caused by a single major news event, holidays or other extraordinary circumstances. Brady (2007: 96) stated that most of the Chinese media reports "no bad news during holiday periods or on sensitive dates". Excluding January and February, which are around Spring Festival; April and May, around the International Workers' Day; September and October, around National Day and December, which is around New Year, suggests that collecting data published during the period of June and July is a better choice.

Therefore the planned sample newspapers for content analysis are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Planned Sample Times of Newspapers

| Newspapers | 1st Time point | 2nd Time point | 3rd Time point |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Qilu Evening News | 1988 (June, July) | 2004 (June, July) | 2010 (June, July) |
| Shandong Commercial News | 2001 (June, July) | 2004 (June, July) | 2010 (June, July) |
| Life Daily | 1997 (June, July) | 2004 (June, July) | 2010 (June, July) |
| Jinan Times | 1996 (June, July) | 2004 (June, July) | 2010 (June, July) |

4.2.2 In-depth Interviews

The interview is a very important method for qualitative research. May (2001) pointed out that interviews can help researchers to get rich insights into people's experiences, opinions, and feelings. A qualitative research interview is a way to discover both facts and meanings (Kvale, 1996). In order to answer the second research question, in-depth interviews were chosen as the data gathering method. Seidman (1998: 112) argued that the strength of in-depth interviews is that through them, the researchers can come to understand the details of people's experience from their point of view, and can see how their individual experience interacts with powerful social and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live and work. Here, the main interviewees are journalists who were previous and current employees of the four evening newspapers, including journalists, senior management staff, marketing staff from the evening newspapers and advertising staff. Journalists who are authors of the reports on migrant workers in the selected articles data were

the preferred choice. Interviewees were approached with the help of the researcher's former classmates, colleagues and friends who are working for the newspaper in question. Potential interviewees were given a brief introduction to the research project, and then a face-to-face interview was arranged. To obtain a high quality interview, appropriate access is required: Seidman (1998) pointed out that the researchers need to know their interviewees before the interviews, and how interviewers gain access to their potential participants and make contact with them can affect their relationship and even influence the interview process. Hiller & Diluzio (2004) pointed out that the research interview is not a simple dialogue, but an asymmetrical encounter established for the aims of the researcher. The interviewer plays a key role in how the interview progresses and what the interviewee says. It is a kind of collaboration that is framed by the researcher. Rubin & Rubin (1995) had suggested previously that the relationship between interviewer and interviewee should be friendly, and the interviewer should be, if not a friend to the interviewee, at least a partner or collaborator. They hold the opinion that such collaborations could lead to better interviews. Gillham (2000:62) argued that the researchers had to establish their credibility and earn their interviewees' trust. Thus it is useful to contact interviewees through friends and peers, rather than through people above or below them in their hierarchy; this helps to build a healthy, relatively equal relationship between interviewees and interviewer, which will increase the validity of the research (Seidman, 1998).

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face, which could minimize non-responses and maximize the quality of the data. Gillham (2000:62) stressed that the advantages of a face-to-face interview are that it offers rich communication opportunities for both interviewers and interviewees, and with the presence of the interviewer, it makes it easier for the interviewee to either clarify answers or ask for clarification for some of the questions. Gillham also pointed out that a face-to-face interview is good for interviews involving sensitive topics: the interviewees may disclose things in a face-to-face interview that they will not disclose via other methods.

Open questions were asked, because the purpose of an in-depth interview is to understand the experience of interviewees, not to predict or to control their experience, and the researcher's task is to present and generalize the experience of interviewees, and explore the meanings they attach to that experience (Seidman, 1998). The senior management staff of these four evening newspapers were also interviewed: they are people who are capable of giving answers with insight and who have a comprehensive grasp of the whole picture of what the researchers are researching (Gillham, 2000:63). In order to obtain a sufficient number of interviews, a "snowballing" approach was adopted to selecting participants, in which one participant led to another (Bertaux, 1981). It is difficult to define a "sufficient" number of interviews. However, Seidman (1998: 48) explained that there are two criteria for "sufficient": there are sufficient numbers to reflect the range of participants so that others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experience of those in it; the other criterion is saturation of information, when the interviewer begins to hear the same information reported, without learning anything new.

Ethical considerations were taken when carrying out these in-depth interviews. In the interviews, participants share aspects of their lives with the interviewers based on trust; if these materials are misused, this can leave them feeling extremely vulnerable. Participants have the right to be protected against such vulnerability (Kelman, 1977). Seidman (1998: 53-56) also stressed that researchers must take steps to reduce the threat of exploiting their participants and the researchers should avoid listing names of their participants that can be traced later when the research is completed. Thus, at the beginning of the interviews, all the interviewees were informed by the researcher that their participation in this study was voluntary. They were also told that they had the right to withdraw at any time during the interviews or to skip or not answer any questions which they preferred not to answer. The

interviewees were told that their responses would be kept confidential, and they would be referred to by pseudonyms in the final paper.

There are some disadvantages to conducting research as an insider: prior knowledge, underlying personal bias and preconceived ideas may reduce the level of objectivity. Gluck (1994: 82) pointed out that in doing this, the researchers are engaged in a direct social interaction: a mutual relationship, which means that they have to confront two subjectivities – their own and that of their narrators. In order to be neutral, a cross section of journalists of different ages and length of working experience were interviewed.

Transcribing interview tapes is a time-consuming and potentially costly work. The ideal solution is for the researcher to hire a transcriber (Gillham, 2000:71). In order to be efficient and accurate, transcriptions were made by a paid helper but these were double-checked by the researcher. The substantive statements were also identified during this process.

Interviewees & Questions

Based on the literature review and research hypothesis in Chapter 3, a list of people who were interviewed follows, along with the main questions that were asked.

- Current and former senior management staff, from the four evening newspapers, who make decisions on what kind of articles can be published.
- Journalists who have written articles about migrant workers from these four evening newspapers.
- Staff in charge of readers surveys, market research and advertising staff from these four evening newspapers.

In order to explore how politics influences the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers:

- a) Senior management staff of these 4 newspapers were interviewed to ask them questions about official regulations, which indicated what they could and could not report on issues related to migrant workers.
- b) Journalists were asked if they had any experience of stories about migrant workers being censored for political reasons. What were the stories and why were they censored?
- c) When stories involved both officials and migrant workers, there was an attempt to try to find what the source of the story was, and why these officials were in the news.

In order to explore how market forces influence the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers,

- a) Advertising managers at the papers were asked whether there were any advertisements targeted specifically at migrant workers and if so, what kind of advertisements.
- b) The people in charge of readership surveys were questioned about how the readership had changed over the years and what kind of a readership they were trying to appeal to.
- c) Journalists were asked if they had experience of stories about migrant workers being rejected because of commercial interests, and if the company was a backer of the newspaper or a major advertiser.
- d) The staff in charge of classified advertising were interviewed to find out how it had changed with respect to advertisements aimed at migrant workers.

In order to explore how the professional practice of Chinese journalists influences the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers:

- a) Journalists were questioned about their journalism education and training experiences.

- b) Journalists were asked how they found the sources for their stories about migrant workers.
- c) Any regulations about reporting socially disadvantaged people were asked about.

4.3 Analysis Techniques

4.3.1 Newspaper Content Analysis

Berelson (1952: 74) describes content analysis as “a systematic, objective and a quantitative method for studying communication messages”, and he wrote that during the 1920s and 1930s, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harold D. Lasswell in USA established the theoretical foundations of quantitative content analysis and the first textbook on quantitative content analysis was published during that time. By the 1960s, content analysis had been widely used in linguistics, psychology, sociology, history, and the arts. In Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language (1961 edition), content analysis is defined as “analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect.” (Krippendorff, 2004: 8). Krippendorff (1980: 2) defines content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”. Weber (1990:9) says: “Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text”. Combining the opinions from Berelson (1952), Krippendorff (1980) and Weber(1990), Stemler (2001) pointed out that content analysis could be defined as a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding.

However, the definition of content analysis was defined by Holsti (1969: 14) as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”, which means that the technique of content

analysis is not restricted to the domain of textual analysis, but may be applied to other areas such as coding student drawings (Wheelock, Haney, & Bebell, 2000), or coding of actions observed in videotaped studies (Stigler, Gonzales, Kawanaka, Knoll, & Serrano, 1999). Thus, the forms of content analysis can be various, and the researchers can choose to focus on keywords, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, or even whole texts. Krippendorff (2004:18) also argued that the content can be anything, and it can be “other meaningful matter”, for example visual images (Bell, 2001 & Collier, 2001). In order to perform a complete and accurate study, both the textual reports, including news text, feature text and opinion text, and picture reports were included as the content analysis subjects.

Researchers can approach content in different ways, using different conceptual and methodological tools (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 31). First used in the field of mass communication research ten years ago, content analysis had been the fastest-growing technique (Neuendorf, 2002:1). Macnamara (2005) wrote that media content analysis is a specialized sub-set of content analysis, a well-established research methodology. Media content analysis was usually seen as quantitative, and Macnamara (2005) explained this method as collecting data about newspaper content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, “messages” determined by key words in context, circulation of the media and frequency. Neuendorf (2002) argued that media content analysis is quantitative only. Hardy & Bryman (2009: 534) also stressed that “content analysis is quantitative in the sense that it is based on procedures that permit categorized data to be translated into nominal, ordinal or interval scale.” However, Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 32) argued that “reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition”, and they insisted that the content analysis should be undertaken using both approaches. Qualitative content analysis is necessary to understand the texts’ deeper meanings, but it relies heavily on the researcher’s understanding and interpretation of media texts, and quantitative content analysis can conform to the

scientific method and produce reliable findings (Macnamara, 2005). A combination of both seemed to be the ideal approach, as Hansen et al. (1998) and Shoemaker and Reese (1996) pointed out that a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis methodologies is necessary to fully understand the meanings of media texts. Content analysis is also useful for examining trends and patterns in documents (Stemler, 2001).

Content analysis is an economical method for charting the major categories of news that appear over a period time, and provides a reliable statistical summary of the important features of news coverage (Golding & Middleton, 1982). In this study a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis were used. First, qualitative analysis aimed to find the main themes of each of the selected reports, and then, the method of quantitative analysis was adopted, to categorise these themes into negative reports, positive reports and neutral reports (see the definition in Chapter 1.5, page 15), and to figure out the percentages of positive reports and negative reports at different times. Based on these percentages, graphs were drawn to show the changing trends of how evening newspapers report the issues about migrant workers.

4.3.2 Newspaper Discourse Analysis

The newspaper content analysis described in Chapter 4.3.1 offers a ground picture of how these four evening newspapers in Jinan reported issues about migrant workers over time. Following on from these results, discourse analysis was used to analyse the terms used to describe migrant workers over the years, and the reports with the themes of criminal offences and industrial accidents involving migrant workers, to explore the micro evidence to determine the changing representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers over time. Using several ways to analyze the data is a method of validation, and this method was defined as “triangulation” by Denzin (1989b), which means that findings can be judged valid when different and

contrasting methods of data collection are used if they give identical findings on the same research subjects. This method can minimize the possibility that the findings may be the result of particular measurement biases (Bloor, 1997:38).

Discourse analysis was first outlined by Foucault (1969), who argued that it was not some independent theory or method, but a way in which the human sciences perceived the world. Stubbs (1983) defined discourse analysis as “language use above the level of the sentence”. Meyers (1997) defined that discourse analysis is a methodology to analyze language and its usage, exploring the discursive structures and rhetorical strategies of texts. Gee (1999: 82) pointed out that discourse analysis is “language that simultaneously reflects reality and constructs it to be a certain way”. Richardson (2007) pointed out that discourse analysis is more than analyzing the inter-relations of sentences, but is what the “speaker” or “writer” is doing through discourse and how this “doing” is linked to wider inter-personal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts. Gao (2007) concluded that discourse analysis is a newly developed branch of linguistics.

There are various approaches to discourse analysis, such as speech-act theory, the ethnography of communication and the study of conversation (Paltridge, 2000). Many researchers have used content analytical approaches in media studies to reveal biased, stereotypical images in texts. In this study, the discourse analysis approach to analyse the newspapers data was used. It includes two sections: analysis of the terms used to describe migrant workers over years, and analysis of the reports with the themes of criminal offences and industrial accidents involving migrant workers. Van Dijk (1997) stressed that discourse analysis examines who uses language, how, why and when, and it pays attention to the way language is used in social contexts and how people understand other peoples’ messages (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). Thus, in analyzing the terms used to describe migrant workers, the historical and sociological meanings of these terms were identified and the underlying messages behind these terms were explored.

Daymon and Holloway (2002)'s suggestions were followed in analyzing the themed reports in this study in order: to focus on the form and content of the language used. However, van Dijk (1995) emphasized that discourse analysis is not limited to these purely verbal approaches to discourse, but is also available to other semiotic dimensions, including pictures, sounds, films, music and gestures, and so on. Therefore, discourse analysis was used to analyse the pictures in the reports. The sources of these reports as a method to understand the reports better were also discussed. This could be seen as part of discourse analysis, since Richardson (2007) insisted that discourse analysis is basically an interpretative and deconstructing reading, and there are no specific guidelines to follow. Thus, the method of discourse analysis could be used from any perspective, as long as it helps to understand the data. Through identifying the terminologies, phrases, headline messages, pictures and the sources of the reports, the dominant discourse themes were identified.

4.3.3 Thematic Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to analyze the selected reports, and it was also used to analyze the interview data. The definition of content analysis has been discussed in Section 4.3.1, and here, thematic content analysis is discussed.

The transcribed texts were analyzed using a thematic approach focussing on the detection of themes. Berelson (1952: 18) wrote that theme category was one special kind of content category, and the theme itself should be considered as a unit of analysis, with each theme detected placed into a larger "compartment" known as the theme category. Berelson (1952: 18) argued "a theme is an assertion about a subject matter". Holsti (1969: 116) explained a theme as "a single assertion about some subject". Seidman (1998: 107) wrote that the thematic approach was a more conventional way of presenting and analyzing interview data than crafting profiles to organize excerpts from the transcripts into categories, and it means that the

researcher can search for connecting threads and patterns among the excerpts within those categories and for connections between the various categories that might be called themes. The researcher can then present and comment upon excerpts from the interviews thematically organized (Seidman, 1998: 107).

The researcher should treat interview data as any other text, as Mostyn (1985) argued that what is required in responding to interview text is no different from what is required in responding to other text - a close reading plus judgement. A close reading of the interview data will be necessary, in order to examine the useful information and to reduce the interview data, then to shape the material into a form in which it can be shared or displayed (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Wolcott (1994) argued that reducing the data is a first step in allowing the researchers to present their interview material and then to analyze and interpret it. Thus, a “classifying” process was included. Seidman (1998: 107) explained the process of “classifying”: the researcher labels the passages that he has marked as interesting during his reading and marking of the transcripts, to find out the subject of the marked passages, to use words or a phrase to describe them, and to find a category for this passage, so that classifying can be understood as a process of noting what is interesting, labelling it, and putting it into appropriate category. Following this method, the themes of the interview data relevant to the research questions were identified and categorized. The other themes which are less relevant to the research questions were also listed as subcategories. Further discussions were based on these themes.

4.4 Summary of Interview Data and the Process of Analysis

51 interviews were conducted in total: 18 at the Qilu Evening News, 6 at the Life Daily, 15 at the Jinan Times and 12 at Shandong Commercial News, including the senior management staff of each newspaper and at least 2 journalists who have worked there since the newspaper was founded. The interviewed journalists are mainly social issues reporters, and they have written, or still write reports about

migrant workers. The data is available as 51 audio recordings of the interviews, as well as the transcriptions of these recordings. A brief summary of each interview is listed in Table 4.2, including the interviewees' position, and their main arguments related to this research.

The transcribed texts were treated as raw data for this study, and were analysed by using a thematic approach (see Chapter 4.3.3) focusing on the detection of themes. After a close reading of all the texts, all the passages that relate to the research questions were highlighted and labelled. At the same time, some notes were taken by the researcher to understand these texts better. Then, these passages were categorized according to their subjects. Three main categories have become obvious: how politics influences reports about migrant workers, how market forces influence reports about migrant workers, and how professional practices of Chinese journalists influence reports about migrant workers. If some texts are fit into two or three categories, they will be labelled two or three times. These classifications offer important empirical evidence for the later discussion. Looking at each main category, based on the subjects of texts, several subcategories were identified by the researcher, such as in the category of "how politics influences reports about migrant workers", the subcategories are: "changing angles" reports, reports on charity events for migrant workers, the political awareness of journalists, and the "weakening" of media control. In this way, the interview data will be analysed systematically.

4.5 Case Study in Jinan and Its Generalisability

Erickson (1986) argued that since the general lies in the particular, what we learn in a particular case can be transferred to similar situations. Mill, Durepos & Wiebe (2010) also argued that the value of a case study and its generalisability is confirmed, when faced with a similar situation. In this research, the case study in Jinan is a sample that represents what has been happening in most of the other cities. Firstly, Jinan is an ordinary Chinese city, neither one of the most developed cities in China, like Beijing,

Shanghai and Guangzhou, nor the most under-developed city in China, like Guiyang, Yinchuan and Xining. Thus, Jinan is representative of most ordinary Chinese cities. Secondly, evening newspapers in different cities in China are under similar pressures and running similar business models. As has been discussed in the Chapter 2.2.1, these newspapers are supervised by the Party and have to figure out their own way to make money. Most of them have turned to similar editorial strategies to attract readers. Thirdly, there has been a large movement of rural labour to the cities for work, and nearly all cities in China are facing the same situation: migrant workers and representation of migrant workers in the media. The stories of migrant workers have been widely reported by evening newspapers in different cities, and these stories can also be analysed and compared at different times, like the case study in Jinan.

Based on this individual case study in Jinan, a general theory will be constructed that encapsulates the findings insights and descriptions from the case study in Jinan and applies them to other cities in China. At the same time, some factors that need to be considered when applying the results of this case study in Jinan to the other cities, include: Would the evening newspapers face similar political control in different cities? Would the results be the same if there is only one evening newspaper in that city? Would the results apply to the evening newspapers in the city where there are few migrant workers?

4.6 Limitations

One major problem is sample size. There are more than 156 registered evening newspapers in China, but due to the limits of time, the sample size is restricted to only 4 papers. It is also important to know the limitations of using the case study approach. Bell (2005: 11) and Bryman (1988: 88) questioned that when using a case study “it is difficult for researchers to cross-check information”. However, this

limitation could be avoided if the chosen case study is representative of the wider body of similar phenomena.

Another limitation exists in the process of interview analysis. Seidman (1998:108) pointed out whether the method of working with excerpts from participants' interviews, seeking connections among them, explaining those connections and building interpretative categories may affect the validity and reliability of the research results, since the researcher may try to force the excerpts into categories, and the categories into themes that he or she already has in mind, rather than let them develop from the experience of the participants as represented in the interviews. Thus, the researcher is most concerned with justifying the correctness of his or her initial expectations, and the study becomes a process of self-justification, and it cannot include all the variances (Schroeder, 1995). Denzin (1989a: 12) warned that interpretive research might begin and end with the biography and self of the researcher. The researcher was the one who interpreted these texts, and his or her own bias and position on these issues should be taken into account: what he or she brought to the data was his or her sense of what was important as he or she read the transcripts (Mostyn, 1985). However, Bryman (1988:88) argued that research which relies on unstructured interviews within the qualitative tradition may be slightly less vulnerable, since respondents are often encouraged to speak freely, and to produce different opinions.

Due to time restrictions and funding, a limited number of interviews were conducted. A greater number of interviews would have helped to ensure the validity and reliability of the data.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

Based on the research aims and objectives of this study, it has been demonstrated that the most appropriate research strategy was a case study method. Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis were used in this study, including context analysis of the newspapers, thematic content analysis and discourse analysis. Primary data were collected through a combination of searches through archival copies of the newspapers and in-depth interviews with journalists and other employees of the four evening newspapers. Although there are limitations in this research methodology, sufficient data have been collected to reach valid conclusions.

Chapter 5 The Changing Balance of Negative and Positive Reports

Introduction

This chapter aims to investigate the general reporting trends on news coverage about migrant workers, within the four evening newspapers in Jinan. The numbers of reports depicting relatively negative and positive representations of migrant workers at different times are identified. Adopting a dynamic perspective, this chapter explores how the percentages of the negative and positive representations of migrant workers have changed over the last two decades. This chapter offers a macro view of representations of migrant workers over the last two decades: more discussions to focus on the individual articles are included in Chapter 7.

5.1 Selection of Reports For Analysis

As has been discussed in Chapter 4.2.1, data for the content analysis were collected from June and July in the year that collection was carried out (2010), 2004 and the earliest year of the publication of each paper. Thus, the data should have been obtained from the times specified in Table 4.1.

However, Shandong Commercial News 2001 data and Life Daily 1997 data were not available from either the local or the State library. The publishers of Shandong Commercial News advised they do not have the complete archive of papers published in 2001, because the newspaper was in chaos when it was newly founded, and they did not start to keep an archive until the next year. Life Daily in 1997 was available, but stored, unorganized and difficult to find, in an underground garage. The local library, did however, have issues of Life Daily, starting from a year later. There were no large changes in government policies towards migrant workers or in

the reporting regulations about migrant workers from 1997 to 1998, or from 2000 to 2001. Thus, these changes are insignificant, only slightly reducing the dynamic range. The final list of newspapers selected for content analysis is shown below (see Table 5.1):

Table 5.1 Final Selected Years For the Data

| Name | 1st Time | 2nd Time | 3rd Time |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Qilu Evening News | 1988 | 2004 | 2010 |
| Shandong Commercial News | 2002 | 2004 | 2010 |
| Life Daily | 1998 | 2004 | 2010 |
| Jinan Times | 1996 | 2004 | 2010 |

The selected newspapers were checked to find all the reports about migrant workers, including news reports, features, photographic reports and news comments. Most of these articles include key words which referred to migrant workers, for example, “non-state workers” (民工, *min gong*) , “peasant workers” (农民工, *nong min gong*) , “little sisters who are working for the bosses” (打工妹, *da gong mei*) , and “young guys who are working for the bosses” (打工仔, *da gong zai*) and “workers from other places” (外来务工者, *wu lai wu gong zhe*) to refer to migrant workers. There were also some reports that did not include obvious key words, but it could be seen from the context that these reports were about migrant workers. In order to get valid and reliable data, the process was repeated independently by a volunteer assistant, so that the resulting set of articles was as complete and reliable as possible. All the reports found were photocopied and the appropriate metadata were marked down: newspaper name, date of publication and page number. The metadata

were also double-checked by a third party, to avoid incorrectly reading the data, incorrectly marking the data, and incorrectly photocopying the data. Altogether, 299 reports were selected and photocopied, including 100 reports from Qilu Evening News, 50 reports from Life Daily, 81 reports from Jinan Times, and 68 reports from Shandong Commercial News. All the information, including newspaper name, date of publication and page number are listed in Table 5.2 (*see Appendix*).

The number of reports about migrant workers that were in each evening newspapers is listed below (see Table 5.3):

Table 5.3 The Number of Reports about Migrant Workers

| Newspapers Names | 1st Time | 2nd Time | 3rd Time |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Jinan Times | 13 | 32 | 36 |
| Life Daily | 19 | 18 | 19 |
| Shandong Commercial News | 15 | 21 | 32 |
| Qilu Evening News | 10 | 49 | 41 |
| Total | 57 | 120 | 128 |

This table shows that, generally speaking, there were more reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers in recent years, especially in Jinan Times and Qilu Evening News. Also, it was noticed by the researcher that there were more longer pieces, more detailed reports and more illustrated reports about migrant workers published in recent years, compared to the earlier reports.

5.2 Classification of the Selected Reports

The main theme in each of the selected reports in these evening newspapers was identified. Here, the theme is what the reports means to show, and the message that the reader understands by reading between the lines. For example the theme could be “work-related accidents among migrant workers”, “caring about migrant workers’ working conditions”, “crimes committed by migrant workers” and so on. Since all the reports are categorised by the researcher, there was a worry that there might be a degree of the observer’s bias, which might unconsciously influence the accuracy of the data. In order to avoid observer-expectancy bias, all these articles were read through in an random order when deciding their themes. Table 5.2 (*see Appendix*) lists each article (date, page and title) along with the themes. Then, all these themes were put into three large categories: positive representation; negative representation; and neutral representation (Table 5.4, *see Appendix*). This research method has been widely used by scholars such as Levinsena & Wien (2011) and Larsen & Dejgaard (2013). Parenti (1986: 154-155) gathered the negative images of labour portrayed by the media and assembled them into eight “lenses”, through which journalists examine labour in ways that yield distorted representations.

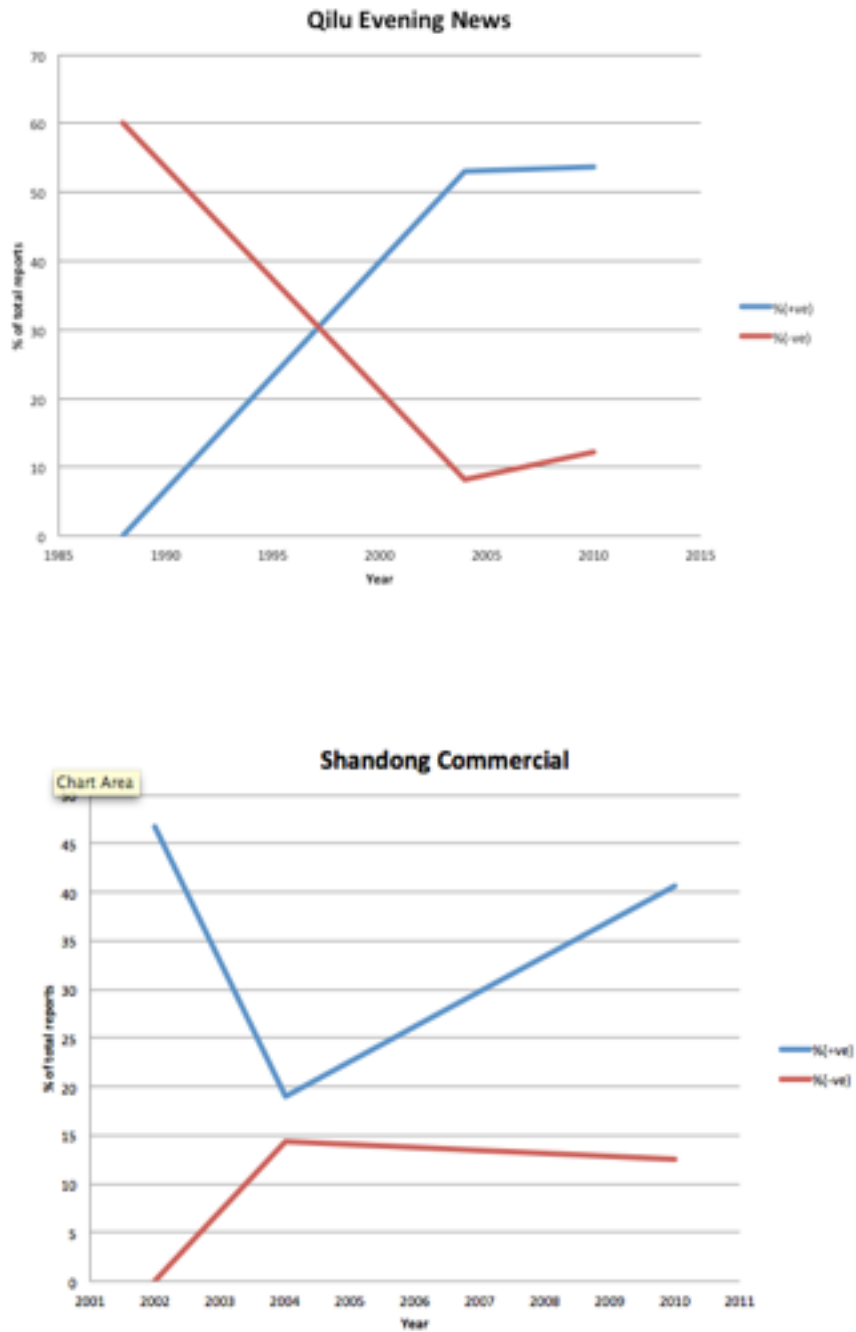
5.3 Proportions of Positive vs Negative Reports

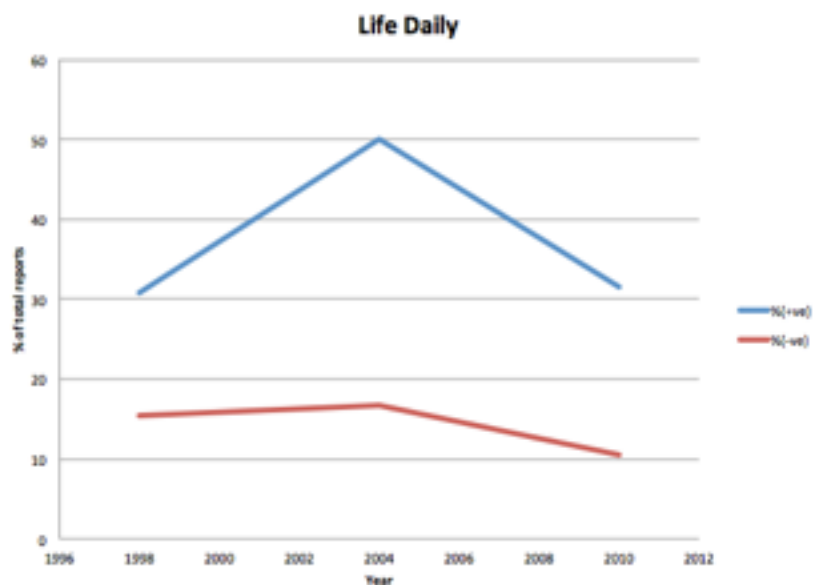
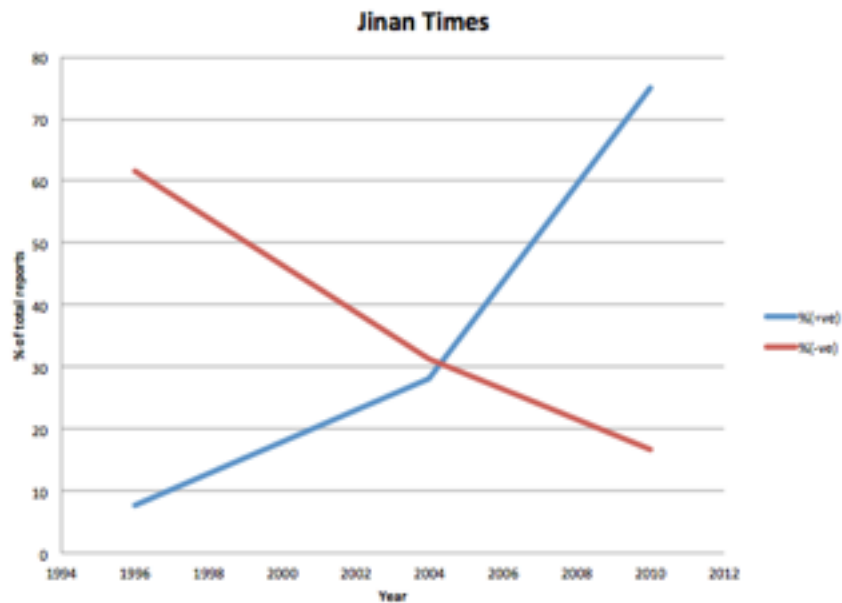
The percentage of positive reports is defined as 100 times the number of positive reports divided by the total number of reports (*positive, neutral and negative*). The percentage of negative reports is likewise defined as 100 times the number of negative reports divided by the total number of reports. The percentages of positive reports and negative reports at each time point are displayed in Table 5.4 (*see Appendix*). Based on these percentages (Table 5.5), graphs (Figure 5.1) have been plotted which clearly show the general trends.

Table 5.5 The Percentages of Positive & Negative Reports

| Newspaper | Year | Total | Number of Positive Reports | Number of Negative Reports | Percentage of Positive Reports | Percentage of Negative Reports |
|-----------|------|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Qilu | 1988 | 10 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 60 |
| Qilu | 2004 | 49 | 26 | 4 | 53.0 | 8.2 |
| Qilu | 2010 | 41 | 22 | 5 | 53.7 | 12.2 |
| Life | 1998 | 13 | 4 | 2 | 30.8 | 15.4 |
| Life | 2004 | 18 | 9 | 3 | 50.0 | 16.7 |
| Life | 2010 | 19 | 6 | 2 | 31.6 | 10.5 |
| Jinan | 1996 | 13 | 1 | 8 | 7.7 | 61.5 |
| Jinan | 2004 | 32 | 9 | 10 | 28.1 | 31.2 |
| Jinan | 2010 | 36 | 27 | 6 | 75 | 16.7 |
| Shandong | 2002 | 15 | 7 | 0 | 46.7 | 0 |
| Shandong | 2004 | 21 | 4 | 3 | 19.0 | 14.3 |
| Shandong | 2010 | 32 | 13 | 4 | 40.6 | 12.5 |

Figure 5.1 Graphs of Reporting Trends





The findings can be drawn from the charts (see Figure 5.1):

- 1) The percentage of positive reports has increased over time in the Qilu Evening News and the Jinan Times from <10% to >50%.
- 2) The percentage of negative reports has decreased significantly for the Qilu Evening News and Jinan Times from ~60% to <20%.

- 3) All evening newspapers have a low percentage (<20%) of negative reports by 2010.
- 4) The percentage of negative reports has stayed almost constant for Life Daily.
- 5) The percentage of positive reports is much higher than the percentage of negative reports for all these four evening newspapers in 2010.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

In summary, the percentage of negative reports concerning migrant workers in Qilu Evening News, Life Daily and Jinan Times in 2010 was lower than the percentage in the 1980s and 1990s. Shandong Commercial News was founded later, so it could not be compared. Compared to the percentage of negative reports of migrant workers in the evening newspapers in 2004, this number continued to drop in 2010 at Jinan Times, Life Daily and Shandong Commercial News. However, the percentage of negative reports at Qilu Evening News slightly increased from 2004 to 2010. The percentage of positive reports about migrant workers in the Qilu Evening News and in the Jinan Times in 2010 was higher than the number in the 1980s and 1990s. But this number decreased at Life Daily. Shandong Commercial News was founded later, so it could not be compared. Compared to the percentage of positive reports of migrant workers in the evening newspapers in 2004, this number continued to increase in 2010 at Jinan Times, Qilu Evening News and Shandong Commercial News. However, the percentage of positive reports in Life Daily slightly decreased from 2004 to 2010. Therefore, comparatively speaking, two general trends can be drawn: the relatively negative reports in these four evening newspapers are decreasing; and the relatively positive reports in these four evening newspapers are increasing.

Chapter 6 Analysis of Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers

Introduction

Language was used to help people to symbolize: to reason, remember, anticipate, rationalize, distort, and evoke beliefs and perceptions about matters not immediately before them (Edelman, 1974: 296). Edelman further argued that language was always an intrinsic part of some particular social situations, and language plays an important part in creating social relationships and in evoking the roles and the selves of those involved in the relationships. Toni Morrison suggested that words “can powerfully evoke and enforce hidden signs of racial superiority, cultural hegemony, and dismissive ‘othering’ of people and language” (Morrison, 1992). Johnstone (2002) also argued that the different terms of address can show the different relationships between, and the amount of respect between the addresser and addressee. Thus, analysing the terms used to describe migrant workers in the reports can help to understand the portrayal of migrant workers in the evening newspapers. The different terms used to describe migrant workers over the years reflect the different framing and representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers in general.

From the collected data (299 articles about migrant workers, *see Appendix, Table 6.1*), it can be observed that numerous terms have been used by the evening newspapers to describe migrant workers during the last two decades, for example peasants (农民, *nong min*), people from other places (外来务工者, *wu lai wu gong zhe*), little sisters from another place (外来妹, *wai lai mei*), little sisters who are working for the bosses (打工妹, *da gong mei*), young guys who are working for the bosses (打工仔, *da gong zai*) and workers (工人, *gong ren*). This chapter seeks to critically examine these different terms used by the four evening newspapers to describe migrant workers over the last two decades, analyse

the significant patterns of the changes in these terms, and to explore what has caused these changes.

6.1 Meanings of Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers

Jacka (2000) and Lee (2007) noticed that Chinese media used different terms to describe migrant workers, such as the floating population (流动人口, *liu dong ren kou*), blind drifters (盲流, *mang liu*), people from other places (外来务工者, *wai lai wu gong zhe*), little sisters from other places (外来妹, *wai lai mei*), non-state workers (民工, *min gong*) and peasant workers (农民工, *nong min gong*). Lee (2007) further suggested that in China, migrant workers were rarely described as workers (工人, *gong ren*). Usually, based on the subjects' common characteristic, people categorize these subjects in order to understand them and identify them. Most terms used by the Chinese media to describe migrant workers categorize them as a distinct group, and these categorizations were made from different perspectives. Edelman (1974) said that categorization is a political tool, establishing status and power hierarchies, and such classifications rank people and determine degrees of their status. These categorizations could easily lead to stereotypes. Tajfel (1978) understood stereotyping as putting people into groups and categorizing them. Thus, understanding the categorizations of migrant workers, and whether there are stereotypes behind these categorizations can help to understand whether migrant workers experience marginalization or segregation. Though the Chinese government officially has no policy on how to describe migrant workers, in recent years, many Chinese scholars and journalists called for an end to the use of the terms non-state workers and peasant workers, which were viewed by some people as a way to classify migrant workers as second-class citizens. These actions may do nothing to change the harsh social realities that migrant workers are facing or to safeguard their rights, but it implies an appeal to change the representation of

migrant workers in the media, and a changing attitude from the society and media towards migrant workers.

It has also been observed that despite the fact that a few Western scholars noticed these subtle changes in terms, very few Western scholars explored this topic further. It seems that there is consensus among Western scholars to adopt the term of migrant worker to label them all. Michael (1992) explains that in most cases, Western scholars writing about contemporary China seldom read or speak Chinese fluently, and most of them are totally dependent on the existing literature in English, and therefore, it may be difficult for them to notice these changes. In order to understand these terms better, these terms will be discussed within both Chinese and Western historical and sociological contexts. The terms are grouped into three categories: terms based on social class, terms based on geographic origins, and terms based on combinations of two classes.

6.1.1 Terms Based on Social Class

Social class usually refers to a group of people with similar wealth, power, and lifestyle. It can be determined from accent, clothes, interests, and even their food preferences. Peasants (农民, *nong min*), workers (工人, *gong ren*), working for the bosses (打工的, *da gong de*) can be seen as three different classes in China.

Peasants

Peasants are defined by Friedmann (1980) as those agricultural producers who, first, use family labour, and thus the household as the unit of production, to produce mainly for subsistence and, second, depend on non-commoditized relations for the household's production. In the West, peasants mainly refer to tenant-farmers, who can only cultivate land for the landlord. But in China, all the land belongs to the

government, and peasants have the right to work on their allocated land for life. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China's rural land system has undergone a successive set of reforms: prior to 1952, land was confiscated from the landlords and rich peasants, and was distributed to the poor peasants; from 1953 to 1957, agricultural production cooperation was in use; from 1958 to 1978, agriculture collectivization was carried out; from 1979 to present, land is owned by the collective, and used by the farmers (Liao, 2013). In Mao's time, peasants were seen as important supporters of the Chinese revolution. Myers & Domes (1989) stated that the Chinese People's Liberation Army founded and led by Chairman Mao is an army of the workers and peasants, and from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, peasants were seen as the pillar of the new Chinese society. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), peasants were portrayed as one of the rulers of the country.

However, with Deng Xiaoping's open policies, the social recognition of peasants in China has changed since the late 1970s. Kelliher (1992) and Nyiri (2010) both argued that in Deng's China, the countryside was seen as a backward place, characterized as containing people who have a peasant consciousness (小农意识, *xiao nong yi shi*) and feudal superstitions (封建迷信, *feng jian mi xin*). In the eyes of urban people, peasants are stupid (愚, *yu*), by which is meant that peasants cannot read, and they are small-minded (Fei, Hamilton & Zheng, 1992). Similar claims were made by Cohen (1993), who stated that during the early 20th century, the word peasant was rarely seen with any positivity by intellectuals, and the notion of the peasants was as a culturally distinct and alien other: passive, helpless, unenlightened, in the grip of ugly and fundamentally useless customs, desperately in need of education and cultural reform. Li (2005) also pointed out that the term peasant carries negative meanings: phrases like "peasant mentality" (小农意识, *xiao nong yi shi*), "peasant's habit" (农民习气, *nong min xi qi*) or "like a peasant" (农民一样, *nong min yi yang*) all have derogatory meanings in Chinese.

Peasants were deemed as backward, narrow-minded, lower class (Fan, Chen & Kirby, 1996). There is rarely inter-marriage between urban residents and peasants, especially between female urban residents and male peasants. Peasants in China are frequently labelled as lazy, irrational, complacent, ignorant and backward (Fong & Murphy, 2006). Li (2005) gave a most striking example of how the status of the peasant was valued: in the 1990s, China's national criminal law stipulated that if an urban resident was convicted of three felonies, his urban resident status would be revoked and he would become a peasant. After all, the urban middle class were seen as "high-suzhi" (高素质, *gao su zhi*) people, and rural peasants were seen as "low-suzhi" (低素质, *di su zhi*) people (Zhu, 2013).

In the reports data for this thesis, migrant workers were usually labelled as peasants in the 1980s and 1990s. Even after they came into the cities and worked in the cities, they were still seen as an agricultural population, who received fewer social benefits and less social welfare from the state, compared to urban workers. Describing migrant workers as peasants shows the social status of migrant workers, and in most cases, there is an obvious segregation and xenophobic attitude contained in this term.

Workers

Chan (2008) argued that the terms, working class and workers were political rhetoric imposed in Mao's era. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party came into power and created a new and privileged working class. They made the workers, the Chinese industrial proletariat, into the owners of the new China, despite the fact that the Communist revolution was won mainly with the support of the peasants. Ngai (2007) pointed out that differently from the Western working classes, whose formation, pushed by a market economy, took at least half a century, the Chinese working class was formed within a short period under a command state economy. In Mao's China, workers only worked for the state industries, and they were esteemed and well-paid. However, this situation was changed in the post-Mao era. The social status, and wages of workers generally declined as state industries increasingly went

bankrupt (Fairbank & Goldman, 2006: 436). In the late 1990s, the privatization of state-owned enterprises began. Inefficient Chinese enterprises were closed down or merged into more productive units. About 59 million workers were laid off in China between 1995 and 2005 (Hays, 2008). With the process of Chinese economic reform, the concept of class was rapidly abandoned, and a new workforce from the countryside has poured quickly into the newly industrialized or development zones (Ngai, 2007).

Lee (2007) identifies two types of Chinese working class, the workers from the Maoist-era industrial units (单位, *dan wei*) and the sunbelt workers (see Note 8), mainly former peasants working in the new export-oriented industries. Chan (2008) argued that compared with migrant workers, urban industrial workers were slightly better protected by the State. For example, they had better organizational resources such as the trade unions, workers' congresses or a stable urban community to which they could turn for support. Ge Jianxiong, professor of History at Fudan University, who was also the former director of the Institute of Chinese Historical Geography and the Historical Geography Research Center of Fudan University, strongly urged the abolition of the term peasant workers, and used the term workers to describe migrant workers (Ge, 2008).

Working for the Bosses

Ngai (1999: 3) explains that “da gong” (打工) means “working for the bosses or “selling labour”, connoting commodification and a capitalist exchange of labour for wages. “Da gong de” (打工的) was understood by Ellerman (2010) as “wage-labourers for the bosses” and “sellers of labour to the bosses”. Wright (2010) also defines “da gong” as “working for the bosses” or “selling labour”. Here, the term working for the bosses is used to refer to “da gong”, and thus, “da gong mei” (打工妹) can be understood as little sisters, or young girls who are working for the

bosses, “da gong zai” (打工仔) can be understood as young guys who are working for the bosses.

Lee (1998) emphasized that the term “working for the bosses” (打工的, *da gong de*) indicates exchange of labour with the bosses for a wage. It is important to ask who these bosses are. Ngai (2004) pointed out that during Mao’s period, the Chinese workers worked for the state, with the state as a socialist “boss”. The shift to the term working for the bosses, means they are working for new bosses of global capitalist societies and the phrase working for the bosses signifies a lesser identity, that of a hired labourer, in a new context shaped by the rise of market factors in labour relations and hierarchy. Ngai (2004) further pointed out that this term implies casual labour, labour that can be dismissed at will. A similar view is suggested by Jacka (2006: 44) who stated that working for the bosses refers to temporary wage labour in contrast to a permanent job (职业, *zhi ye*) and has none of the status that was attributed to workers. Jacka (2006: 44) explained that in the 1990s and early 2000s, a permanent job meant a lifetime job in which a person was attached to a particular working unit, which provided not only employment but also housing, welfare, and a range of other public goods. Thus, people who are working for the bosses, are completely excluded from the unit system: they work on short-term jobs, quite often without any contracts or legal documentation, and are generally not provided with any social welfare. The rise of the term working for the bosses has also shown the depreciation of rural work, which is disdained for its very low pay and its association with people who are rough, dirty, rustic, or lazy, in contrast to the sharpness and dexterousness of industrial bodies (Ngai, 2004).

Ngai (2004) suggested that little sisters (妹, *mei*) , highlights not merely gender, but also marital status. In the Chinese culture, in contrast to older sister (姐, *jie*) , little sisters often refers to young unmarried girls, and Ngai (2004) further argued that it stands for a lower status: the phrase little sisters who are working for the bosses indicates an inferior working identity inscribed within capitalist labour

relations and sexual relations. Ngai (2004) concluded that little sisters are very employable because they are cheaper and easier to control, and they are obedient, tolerant, and conform to the factory machine. In reality, most of them are young women migrants who experience a segmented labour market in the informal and low-wage employment sectors. People who are working for the bosses is a term more attached to the Cantonese context (Chan, 2010a). The term young guys who are working for the bosses, originally from Guangdong in South China, was seen by Sinn & Wang (2003) as referring simply to low-ranking employees. They argued that the young guys who are working for the bosses excluded those employed as executives and professional staff, but included those who are working in the manufacturing, construction and service industries, or are office clerks, brokers and managers at junior levels. Ngai (2004) argued, that Mao's China highlighted class while negating sexual differentiation, and the process of sexualisation of "little sisters who are working for the bosses" and "young guys who are working for the bosses", mirrors the de-sexualisation of workers, which was a phenomenon in the socialist period. Here, labour is no longer seen as an unsexed body, but as a gendered subject that exhibits itself more as a sexual being than a class being in post-socialist China. Fu (2009) suggested this term contains discriminatory connotations, usually with stereotypes attached to it when used by authoritative powers in society. Some young migrant women felt emotionally traumatized when strangers used this term to describe them.

6.1.2 Terms Based on Geographic Origins

China's rural and urban social structures are mainly based on geographic origins, with the divisions of hukou-based agricultural and non-agricultural populations. People who worked in the cities, outside their authorized domain or geographic origins would be deemed as floating population (流动人口, *liu dong ren kou*) or people from other places (外来人员或外地人, *wai lai ren yuan* or *wai di ren*) .

Floating Population

By definition, floating population in China refers to people who live in an area different from where they have a hukou: that is, those who are living in an area other than their official registered residence. These people frequently move back and forth between rural areas and cities (Solinger, 1999: 15-23), and they have not been granted a permanent, official household registration in the place in which they are residing (Nielsen, Smyth & Zhang, 2006: 41-56). To most urban people, the floating population are those primarily poor, rural migrant workers (Guldin, 1992; Solinger, 1995). However, Chan, Madsen & Unger (1992: 53) and Ma & Xiang (1998) argued that the floating population not only consists of migrant workers but should also include educated intellectuals and artists. They pointed out that the floating population should also include tourists, business people on trips, traders, short-term visitors, individuals visiting relatives and friends, and people attending meetings or seeking medical care in the cities.

Florence (2006) explained the term floating population literally: it is a fluid metaphor to describe the flow of migrants penetrating into the towns. This term is similar to several other terms that have been used to describe migrant workers in China, literally related to water, like blind floaters and migrant workers wave (民工潮, *min gong chao*). Mallee (2000) suggested that these terms confirm the stereotype of the image of rural migrants as water: propelled by enormous rural unemployment pressure, they flocked to the cities or roamed around the country in search of work. Mallee (2000) argued that these terms implied disorderly, spontaneous or even chaotic migration. Florence (2006) further stated that this term emphasized the sudden, violent and overwhelming characteristic of the migrants' arrival in the cities; the concept of floating expresses a sense of motion sickness when dealing with the fast changes in China's urbanization process, and this contributes towards homogenising the migrants and seeing them as outsiders.

Describing migrant workers as a floating population showed that migrant workers were often viewed by urban citizens as rootless people, lacking the constraints of government and community, and prone to behave in antisocial or criminal ways (Mallee, 2000). Un (2009) argued that local people often thought that this floating population, especially migrant workers, were dangerous people that should be closely watched or sent back to wherever they came from. Thus, describing migrant workers as a “floating population” portrays a negative image of migrant workers.

People from Other Places

Migrant workers have been frequently referred to as people from other places, workers from other places, and female migrant workers are referred to little sisters from other places by the Chinese media. These terms are based on geographic origins, by emphasizing those people who originally lived in other places, and who are non-locals.

Jacka (2006) argued that these terms conveyed a sense of threat by highlighting their outsider status in their place of destination. Scott (1990) claimed that these terms are highly politically labels, used to emphasize that migrants were from other places, suggesting that they should be supervised. Zhang (2001) suggested that China has a culture of rootedness: individuals from the same place or who speak the same dialect have an affinity with one another, but not with others. Place and space are key elements within people's lives, central to a sense of belonging and community identity. Henderson (2007) argued that belonging to the same place offered an important source of social recognition for individuals, and provided a tangible sense of connection and identity: knowing who you are and where you belong to. Communities would normally accept those who belong to the community, and would be hostile to outsiders. There is also an obvious institutional discrimination favouring the local people: as has been discussed in the literature review, rural migrants are paid lower wages, and they do not share the same working conditions or enjoy the same level of benefits as the urban workers. These differences may lead the

local residents to treat migrant workers as second class citizens and to discriminate against them verbally. Here, marginalization is achieved through the emphasis of both geographic difference and social difference, where hierarchical fabrications further assert one group's superiority over another. Frederick Barth explained such fabrications as boundary-supporting verbal strategies that distance other people from the speakers by insisting on difference (Barth, 1969: 34). Thus, by stressing migrant workers as people from other places, the addressers are regarding the migrant workers as other, and trying to separate themselves from them. In most cases, these terms readily reinforce viewers' negative image of migrant workers.

6.1.3 Terms Based on Combinations of Two Classes

In the term “min gong” (民工), “min” (民) can be literal understood as “peasant” or “ordinary people”, thus, this term is formed by the combinations of two classes. This term has been widely translated into “non-state workers” by a lot of Western scholars, such as Mallee (2000) and Lee (2007: 195). Thus, the term non-state workers is used to stand for min gong in this thesis. It is quite obvious that the term peasant workers (农民工, *nong min gong*) is also based on a combination of two social classes.

Non-state Workers

The term, “non-state workers” (民工, *min gong*) once the most common term used for rural labour migrants, was first used at the beginning of the War of Liberation in China, to refer to the peasants, who took part in the work of delivering bullets, food and the other war supplies to the Chinese army, and it was also used to describe the peasants who helped to carry the wounded soldiers (Lu, 2007).

Lu (2007) further pointed out this term started to become popular again in the 1980s, to describe migrant workers. This term, with all its implications, naturally fitted the

newly emerging migrant population in the cities. Mallee (2000) explained that non-state workers are not real workers. The implication of non-state, surely, is to suggest that unlike the original workers, these people work, but they cannot claim workers' status. Further, the image of non-state workers was not always welcomed. In March, 1989, the general office of the State Council of China issued a directive, requiring strict control of the movement of non-state workers (Mallee, 2000).

Since 2002-2003, many journalists and social scientists have written articles to argue that the term non-state workers contains implicit discrimination. In 2003, in an article in the Southern Weekly, Chen (2003) stated that non-state workers is a phrase which easily causes confusion, and it should be replaced by labourers (劳工, *lao gong*). Chinese economist Guo Shuqing also suggested that the term non-state workers is no longer acceptable (Zhuang, 2004). Chinese historian Ge Jianxiong thought that the term non-state workers brings shame to China (Ge, 2008).

Peasant Workers

According to the former dean of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Lu Xueyi (2007), the term “peasant workers” (农民工, *nong min gong*) was first used in 1984, in an article published in Social Scientists Research (《社会学研究通讯》, *she shui xue yan jiu tong xun*), written by Professor Zhang Yulin from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and it was soon widely cited. Lu said that, at first, the term peasant workers refers to those peasants who were working in factories without entering the cities; they were separated from the land without leaving the villages, and most of them were working in nearby township and village enterprises. However, in the late 1980s, with the development of the industrial and the service sectors, more and more migrant workers were working in factories and entering the cities; separated from the land and leaving the villages.

Literally, from the combination of the words in this term, “peasant workers” embraces two meanings: “peasant” (农民, *nong min*) and “workers” (工人,

gong ren) . “Peasant” marks their social status, indicating they are from rural China, and engaged in farming in the rural areas. “Gong” can be understood as a contraction of “workers” , showing why they are in the cities: looking for employment opportunities and working in the cities. Chan (2010a) explained that this term generally refers to industrial and service workers with a rural hukou, who are working in urban jobs and residing in the cities. Chan also emphasized that these labourers are not treated as local workers, and they are not eligible for urban welfare benefits and other rights that are available to those with an urban hukou. By describing them as peasant workers, Chan (2010b) suggested that, assuming they were all peasants, the state helped to conceal the migrant workers’ plight. Therefore, in the eyes of urban citizens, peasant workers were still seen as peasants because they could go back to their rural village and continue farming for their subsistence at any time and they have come temporarily into the cities to make some money. Peasant workers indicates the migrant workers’ awkward situation in China. In some ways, they belong to both the city and the countryside, and in other ways, they belong to neither.

In recent years, many Chinese journalists and scholars argued that this term should also be abolished. In January, 2012, eight Chinese scholars and lawyers collaborated to write a “Citizen Proposal” and sent it to the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, suggesting that the government abolish the term peasant workers, arguing that this term should be seen as a form of prejudice against migrant workers (Wan, 2012). In some cities, the term peasant worker has already been replaced by “new-type contract worker” (新型合同工人, *xin xing he tong gong ren*) , or “new resident” (新居民, *xin ju min*) to discourage stereotyping. On August 22, Xi’an Yanda district committee issued a directive to standardize the term “new citizens” (新市民, *xin shi min*) to be used when discussing migrant workers. On April 16, 2007, Guangdong Dongguan committee decided to describe migrant workers “New Dongguan people”. In 2011, Wuhan and Wuxi committee started to describe migrant workers as “new citizens” (Wan, 2012). However, some experts

argued that re-labelling migrant workers would do nothing to change the harsh social realities facing the migrant worker population or to safeguard their interests.

6.2 The Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers and Their Children

All the distinct terms used in each article to describe migrant workers have been listed in Table 6.1 (*see Appendix*). This table includes the date of publication, the page that the article was on and the title of the article along with the set of different terms used. Each term is only listed once, however many times it was used in that article.

In Table 6.1, the articles sometimes give the full real names of the worker, and these are highlighted with an asterisk “*”. Often the articles describe a worker using the surname, followed by “mou” (某), which can be loosely translated as “a certain”, a default replacement of the given name, e.g. “Wang mou” is “a certain Mr Wang”. In other cases, the newspaper makes it clear that they are giving a false name to subjects to protect their identity. This is made clear in the English translation, by using the phrase “under a false name”.

After identifying the most frequently used terms, the distinctive terms that have been used to describe migrant workers and the full real names and pseudonyms in the reports about migrant workers will be discussed.

6.2.1 Changes to the Most Frequently Used Terms

Based on the data in Table 6.1 (*see Appendix*), in which all the distinct terms used in each article to describe migrant workers have been listed, the number of how many newspapers’ articles that used each terms were counted, e.g. to calculate how many articles used “peasant workers” to refer to migrant workers in 1988 in Qilu Evening

newspapers. The results are tabulated in Table 6.2. These results can also be seen as the most frequent (modal) terms used for describing migrant workers in each year by each newspaper. The patterns will be examined: how the newspapers have changed the terms used to describe migrant workers over time.

Table 6.2 Modal Terms Used for Migrant Workers

Qilu Evening News

| Year | Modal Terms |
|------|--|
| 1988 | Peasants / rural girls (7) Peasant workers (2) Non-state workers (1) Full real name (1) |
| 2004 | Non-state workers (20) People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses / Little sisters who are working for the bosses (16) Peasant workers (9) Workers from other places / Little sisters from other places People from other places (8) Full real name (8) |
| 2010 | Specific jobs, e.g. construction workers (29) Full real name (13) Peasant workers (13) Workers (12) Staff / Unit workers (3) Workers from other places (3) People who are working for the bosses (3) Non-state workers (1) |

Summary

In 1988, 64% of migrant workers were described as peasants and rural girls, which stressed their rural origins.

1. In 2004, 87% of migrant workers were described as non-state workers, peasant workers, or people who were working for the bosses and workers

from other places, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.

2. In 2010, 38% of migrant workers were described by their specific job titles, and 17% of migrant workers were mentioned by their full real names.
3. There has been a dramatic reduction in the use of non-state workers between 2004 and 2010, from 33% to 1%.
4. 17% of migrant workers were described as peasant workers in 2010.

Jinan Times

| Year | Modal Terms |
|------|---|
| 1996 | Man, woman, girl (4) Specific jobs (4) Full real name (4) People from other places / Workers from other places (2) People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses/ Little sisters who are working for the bosses (2) Floating population (2) Peasant workers (1) Non-state workers(1) |
| 2004 | People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses/ Little sisters who are working for the bosses (11) Non-state workers(9) Full real name (6) Peasant workers (4) Workers from other places / Little sisters from other places / People from other places(4) Man, woman, etc (4) Workers (3) Specific jobs (3) |

| | |
|------|---|
| 2010 | Specific jobs, e.g. construction workers (16) Peasant workers (9) Workers from other places (6) Workers (5) Metaphors (4) Man, woman etc (4) People who are working for the bosses(2) Full real name (1) Non-state workers(0) |
|------|---|

Summary

1. In 1996, there were no clear favourite labels to describe migrant workers.
2. In 2004, 64% of migrant workers were described as peasant workers, non-state workers, people who are working for the bosses, and workers from other places, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.
3. In 2010, 34% of migrant workers were described by their specific job titles, which showed that these migrant workers were described in the same way as urban workers, and these were also the most commonly used descriptions. 36% of migrant workers were described as people who are working for the bosses and people from other places, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.
4. There has been a dramatic reduction in the use of non-state workers between 2004 and 2010, from 20% to 0%.

Life Daily

| Year | Modal Terms |
|------|--|
| 1998 | People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses / Little sisters who are working for the bosses (10) Full real name (7) People from other places / Workers from other places (2) Non-state workers (2) Peasant workers (1) |
| 2004 | Non-state workers (6) Peasant workers (5) Full real name (5) People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses / Little sisters who are working for the bosses (3) Workers from other places (2) Workers (1) |
| 2010 | Specific jobs, e.g. construction workers (8) Workers (6) Terms of respect (3) Full real name (3) Non-state workers (2) People who are working for the bosses (1) People from other places (1) Peasant workers (1) |

Summary

In 1998, 68% of migrant workers were described as people who are working for the bosses, people from other places, non-state workers and peasant workers, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.

5. In 2004, 73% of migrant workers were described as non-state workers, peasant workers and people who are working for the bosses, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.

6. In 2010, 68% of migrant workers were described by their specific job titles or terms of respect, and this showed that these migrant workers were described in the same way as urban workers.
7. There has been a dramatic reduction in the use of the phrase non-state workers between 2004 and 2010, from 27% to 8%.

Shandong Commercial News

| Year | Modal Terms |
|------|--|
| 2002 | Non-state workers (9) Full real name (5) Workers (4) People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses/ Little sisters who are working for the bosses (2) People from other places(1) Peasant workers (0) |

| Year | Modal Terms |
|------|---|
| 2004 | Non-state workers (6) Peasant workers (4) Specific jobs, e.g. construction workers (3) People who are working for the bosses / Young guys who are working for the bosses/ Little sisters who are working for the bosses (3) Full real name (2) Workers from other places(1) Workers (1) |
| 2010 | Specific jobs, e.g. construction workers (15) Workers (5) Man, woman etc (4) Floating population (4) People from other places(4) Peasant workers (3) People who are working for their bosses (1) Full real name (0) Non-state workers (0) |

Summary

1. In 2002, 57% of migrant workers were described as non-state workers, people who are working for the bosses, and people from other places, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.
2. In 2004, 70% of migrant workers were described as non-state workers, peasant workers and people who are working for the bosses, which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers.
3. In 2010, 56% of migrant workers were described by their specific job titles or described as workers, which showed that these migrant workers were described in the same way as urban workers.
4. There has been a dramatic reduction in the use of the term non-state workers between 2004 and 2010, from 30% to 0.

Conclusion

Overall, a shift can be seen from describing migrant workers as peasants in the 1980s and 1990s, which stresses their rural origins, to describing them as non-state workers, peasant workers, young guys who are working for the bosses, little sisters who are working for the bosses, or people from other places in 2004, which emphasized the differences between them and the urban workers, to using specific job titles to refer to them in 2010, e.g. construction workers and workers. This indicates that in recent years, reports in evening newspapers, irrespective of migrant workers and their families' migratory status, have used non-categorical terms to describe them, and these migrant workers have been treated in the same way as the urban workers. Another clear change is the use of the term non-state workers, which was low before 2000, but increased considerably in 2004 and then dramatically

decreased in 2010. This shift in the use of terms offers rich empirical evidence to show that the representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers has changed over time.

Based on the analysis in Section 6.1, before and including 2004, most of the terms that were used to describe migrant workers were widely seen as discriminatory, but in 2010, these terms were used much less frequently and the most frequently used terms were their specific jobs titles and neutral terms, without referring to migrant workers' original background and without differentiating them from the urban workers. This shows that the representation of migrant workers has changed in the evening newspapers.

6.2.2 The Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers and Their Children

Apart from the widely accepted names used to describe migrant workers, such as non-state worker, peasant worker, workers from other places, some distinctive terms were also found by the researcher in the chosen data to refer to migrant workers. Some of these distinctive terms were recently invented terms full of emotion, such as “little migratory birds” (小候鸟, *xiao hou niao*) , which was used to describe the children of migrant workers with a sympathetic attitude. Some of these distinctive terms were applied to express respect and friendliness to migrant workers, such as the terms “brothers” (兄弟, *xiong di*) and “master” (师傅, *shi fu*) . All the distinctive terms used to describe migrant workers were identified and listed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Distinctive Terms Used to Describe Migrant Worker and Their Children

| Time | Newspaper Name | Distinctive Term |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2002/6/21 | Shandong Commercial News | Brothers |
| 2002/6/30 | Shandong Commercial News | Master |
| 2004/6/04 | Qilu Evening News | Brothers |
| 2004/6/29 | Shandong Commercial News | Master |
| 2004/6/04 | Qilu Evening News | King of bag sewing |
| 2010/6/18 | Qilu Evening News | Master |
| 2010/7/07 | Life Daily | Buns Xi Shi |
| 2010/7/12 | Jinan Times | Brothers |
| 2010/7/15 | Qilu Evening News | Master |
| 2010/7/18 | Jinan Times | Danding Brothers |
| 2010/7/30 | Life Daily | Master |
| 2010/7/21 | Jinan Times | little migratory birds |
| 2010/7/16 | Jinan Times | little migratory birds |
| 2010/7/15 | Jinan Times | little migratory birds |

Brothers and Masters

The term “brothers” was used by Shandong Commercial News in 2002, Qilu Evening News in 2004 and Jinan Times in 2010 (see Table 6. 3). By definition, besides males who have the same parents, brothers can also mean people who are closely united by a common tie or interest. That is, describing somebody as brother indicates that the writers and the addressee(s) are equal, and they stay together. Fairclough (1992) argued that organizations tend to exercise power over individuals, and during communication, in order to close the distance between the organizations and individuals, conversationalization is often used. In doing so, it reduces hierarchies and distance, implying that all of the speakers are in the same boat, which evokes everyday experience and language. Here, the evening newspapers are organizations, and migrant workers are addressees. The newspapers use “brothers” to

include both themselves and the addressee(s) and it shows that the newspaper is speaking on behalf of itself and its readers. As Fairclough (1989: 128) pointed out, this description serves corporate ideologies which stress the unity of people. Describing migrant workers as brothers also shows friendliness from evening newspapers to migrant workers. It is a term which is normally used for relatives; if used for non-relatives, it implies a very intimate emotion towards them.

The term “master” was used for migrant workers by Shandong Commercial News in 2002 and 2004, Qilu Evening News in 2010, and Life Daily in 2010. In Chinese culture, “master” is a respectful term. Xie (2006) pointed out that this term was very popular at the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, being used to describe experienced workers. However, Zhang (2007) argued that “master” was only suitable for people with some specific skills, but not good for professionals and intellectuals, as it will cause misunderstanding, making professionals and intellectuals feel they are being patronised. Evening newspapers describing migrant workers as master is more evidence to show that newspapers are showing respect to migrant workers.

“King”, “Xi Shi” & “Danding Brother”

Qilu Evening News was the earliest newspaper to use flattering terms to describe migrant workers: e.g. “the King (王, *wang*) of bag sewing” in 2004. Then, in 2010, Life Daily used “Buns Xi Shi” (包子西施, *bao zi xi shi*), and Jinan Times used the “Danding Brother” (淡定哥, *dan ding ge*) to describe migrant workers they were writing about. The word King implies some power; Xi Shi is one of the renowned Four Beauties of ancient China, and Danding is a newly created Chinese word, literally meaning be calm, and now used to describe someone who is so calm, and therefore cool. It is obvious that these terms were used to praise migrant workers.

Research indicates that in Chinese media reports, migrant workers were often associated with some bad and negative behaviour and incidents, and migrant workers

have been largely stereotyped as offenders, ignorant, fraudulent, brutal and vulgar, rude and brutal, urban order destroyers, greedy and selfish and a hostile force opposed to modern urban civilization (Nielsen et al., 2006). These articles display individual success and personal achievement, providing positive representations of migrant workers. Thus, in these articles, these terms of flattery show that the writers or the editorial staff were showing their friendliness towards migrant workers in recent years.

Little Migratory Birds

In 2010, Jinan Times used the phrase “little migratory birds” in three different articles to describe migrant workers’ children. This metaphor implies the situation of migrant workers’ children: they have to travel back and forth between the cities where their parents work, and rural villages where they live and study.

There is also a deeper meaning behind this term. Fairclough (1989: 119) pointed out that metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, and different metaphors have different ideological attachments. Metaphor is closely associated with poetry and literary discourse. Every year, migratory birds fly over mountains, oceans, deserts and storms on their journeys to survive. They are seen as brave birds with a persistent spirit. Describing migrant workers’ children as little migratory birds indicates that these children have a strong determination, and strive continuously to improve themselves. This metaphor also shows a new relationship between the evening newspapers and migrant workers’ children: the evening newspapers show more care and attention for migrant workers’ children.

However, Jinan Times was not the first Chinese evening newspaper, to use the phrase little migratory birds to describe migrant workers’ children. In 2001, a Chinese scholar had already used migratory birds to describe migrant workers’ travel (Cao, 2001).

Conclusion

Study of Table 6.3, and the above analysis shows that, these distinctive terms containing respect, praise, friendliness, or sympathy, such as brothers, masters and little migratory birds were widely used to describe migrant workers and their children in 2010. This indicates that in 2010, the representation of migrant workers has changed in the evening newspapers, and journalists in the evening newspapers paid more respect and care to migrant workers and their children.

6.2.3 Full Real Names and Pseudonyms

After the articles which display the true names of individuals (Table 6.1, *see Appendix*) had been read, all the stories associated with these articles were tabulated in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 True Names Used to Describe Migrant Workers

Jinan Times

| Times | Name | Stories |
|-------|---|--|
| 1996 | 1) He Mudan 2) Shi Yan 3)Wang Chengduo 4)Bai Shizhen | 1) stealing (July 23) 2) pretending to be a policeman and cheating (July 20) 3) criminal activities (June 22) 4) looked for a job in the cities, but was a victim of human trafficking (June 7) |
| 2004 | 1) Zhang Zhenhai & Zhang Weizhi 2)Kang Hongmei 3)Xu Yutian 4)Liu Maomin | 1) stealing (July 1) 2) being an escort girl and robbing (June 25) 3) stabbing an innocent girl for money (June 22) 4) died during work(June 21) |
| 2010 | 1)Song Xin | 1) studying and reciting ancient Chinese poems while he sells his bean noodles (July 18) |

Life Daily

| Time | Name | Stories |
|------|---|--|
| 1998 | 1) Deng Chunling, Han Yao & Zhu Renyi 2) Chen Yuebo 3) Qian Dongdong & Zhao Yun 4) Huang Xiuyun | 1) selling their blood to raise money to sue their employer (July 14) 2) stabbing his employer and his family for revenge (July 10) 3) finding it difficult to meet their real love in cities (June 9) 4) going to University to learn English (June 4) |

| Time | Name | Stories |
|------|--|---|
| 2004 | 1) Sun Jinfeng 2) Li Jing 3) Su Li 4) Li Guangzhi 5) Wang Xiaolian | 1) demonstrating how to use a machine (July 29) 2) beaten up by her employer when she asked for her delayed wages (July 22) 3) injured, but refused by hospital because she did not have money to pay the medical costs (July 10) 4) turning to a newspaper to help her son (June 2) 5) stealing (June 1) |
| 2010 | 1) Liu Xiu & Liu Qingshan 2) Wang Chunxia | 1) donating blood for charity 2) The buns that she makes being favoured by local customers |

Qilu Evening News

| Time | Name | Stories |
|------|-------------|---|
| 1988 | 1) Xue Hong | 1) achieving nothing after he moved to city for work (July 3) |

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| 2004 | 1) Lis Hulin 2) Yue Chunhu & Sheng Yuexi 3) Li Min 4) Song Xuexian, Wang Xianchun & Xiao Shichun 5) Wang Chongwu 6) Wang Shicai | 1) saving friend's life (July 26) 2) attending job training (July 19) 3) escaping from being a prostitute (June 27) 4) asking for delayed wages, but beaten up by their employers(June 5) 5) being good at sewing bags (June 4) 6) working hard to support his sick wife (June 4) |
| 2010 | 1)Wang Guihai & Zhang Min 2)Zhang Jiahui 3)Wang Jun 4)Yang Shuo 5)Kong Xiangcai, Liu Yazhou & Liu Jinguo 6)Wang Erqiong 7)Chen Chengai 8)Pan Zhencheng | 1) sending their children to Summer Camp organized by Qilu Evening News (July 28) 2) being a migrant workers' child, healthy and optimistic, studying hard (July 28) 3) returning to the countryside to work (July 26) 4) being migrant workers' children, and being cared for by local residents (July 24) 5) being migrant workers' children, telling the newspaper their dreams (July 23) 6) injured during work, having disputes with a job agency (July 12) 7) died accidentally during work (July 9) 8) working in the hot weather (July 6) |

Shandong Commercial News

| Time | Name | Stories |
|------|--|--|
| 2002 | 1)Jia Benfei, Zhou Zhidong, Yao Hongqing, Li Zhongyu & Xiang Yan 2) Zhao Guoliang | 1) being badly treated by an illegal factory and saved by policemen (July 11) 2) being a migrant workers' child, showing the hard life in the city (June 3) |
| 2004 | 1) Bao Jiyou 2) Luo Hongquan | 1) being badly treated by several village security guards (July 17) 2) being arrested by mistake (June 28) |
| 2010 | None | None |

Table 6.4, shows that in the early days, the full real names of migrant workers were frequently used when reporting criminal offences of migrant workers or portraying them as victims, for example, *(migrant worker)* stabbing his employer and his family for revenge and *(migrant worker)* was a victim of human trafficking. This situation gradually changed from 2004, especially by 2010, when migrant workers' full real names were mainly mentioned if the newspapers were portraying relatively positive images of them and when migrant workers were being unfairly treated, for example, *(a migrant worker)* working hard to support his sick wife, and being good at sewing bags. These changes can be seen as evidence that journalists in the evening newspapers have become much more professional: covering crimes without re-victimizing the victims, and respecting the privacy of socially disadvantaged people. At the same time, there has been a gradual increase for these four evening newspaper to use vague terms, like "a certain Wang", "a man / woman whose surname is Zhang", and pseudonyms (*false names*) to report relatively negative stories about migrant workers (see Table 6.1). It was found that Qilu Evening News used pseudonyms once in 2004, and twice in 2010, Life Daily used pseudonyms once in 2010 and Shandong Commercial News used pseudonyms once in 2010 to describe migrant workers. Using a pseudonym can genuinely hide someone's identity while also retaining some sense of realism. Lu (2007) argued that the paper respected the privacy of interviewees when pseudonyms were used. Gao (2010) pointed out that this will avoid bringing more hurt to the criminal's family. However, some scholars argued that using pseudonyms damaged the credibility of reports, and turned respectable newspapers into gossip mongers (Hu, 2010). In conclusion, using vague terms and using pseudonyms are both strategies to protect migrant workers' identities, and it shows that journalists in the evening newspapers followed their professional ethical standards when reporting disadvantaged people, or they respected their request by not exposing them.

6.3 The Reasons for the Changes in the Terms Used

There is little literature available regarding the reasons behind these changes in the names used to describe migrant workers. In order to explore this issue, the researcher asked related questions to the interviewees from the four selected evening newspapers (see Chapter 4.2.2) who have written articles about migrant workers. Based on the interview data with journalists and senior managers from the four evening newspapers, three major reasons were identified: the influence of formulation, the influence of humanistic concern and the influence of ethical standards in journalism.

These changes also indicate that there has obviously been a change of representation of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. More reasons for these changing representations are included in Chapter 8. In both this section and Chapter 8, the interviewees are journalists unless otherwise stated.

6.3.1 The Influence of Formulation

From the above analysis, it was observed that there was a dramatic reduction in the use of non-state workers (民工, *mingong*) between 2004 and 2010 in all the four evening newspapers. Interviews with senior managers and the journalists who have written articles about migrant workers show that some official directives were issued that led to the abolishment of the term non-state workers. Thus, part of the reason for the changing description of migrant workers was political involvement.

“I used to use non-state workers to describe migrant workers. Over time, more and more people thought that the term non-state workers was discriminatory. Our editors asked us not to use this term anymore.” (Qin Liubo)

“The term non-state workers shows disrespect for migrant workers. We did receive a directive for journalists, issued by the local government, which asked us not to use this term anymore.” (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“There is a directive, but I cannot remember when it was issued. I think it is still fine to use peasant workers to refer to migrant workers. If you continue to use the term non-state workers, it will be seen as going against the directive.” (Jiang Leishi)

“We are given a book every year on how to write reports in the standard way, including how to use standard language.” (Zhang Dong)

“We don’t use non-state workers to describe migrant workers now. I think this directive may have come from the Provincial Propaganda department.” (Guo Shuren)

Schoenhals (1992) explained that in China, the state uses formalized language to exercise direct control over political discourse, and this formulation (提法, *tifa*) can be understood as a fixed way of saying something ordered by the Chinese Communist Party. Here, describing the migrant workers was part of the Party’s formulation. The process of devising formulations has involved not only official voices, but unofficial ones, including scholars, journalists, and other opinions. Under the requirement of the Chinese Communist Party, the formulation should be ‘scientific’ (Schoenhals, 1992). Related literature shows that the idea of abolishing the term non-state workers was originally suggested by Chinese scholars and journalists. The Party approves of a certain formulation, because the formulation is judged to be politically useful and clever (Schoenhals, 1992: 11). By adopting this suggestion, the Chinese Communist Party had their own thoughts: avoiding a word with negative connotations and substituting it with a neutral or positive one would not cost the government money, but would make migrant workers happier. This process was seen as a spiritual incentive (Schoenhals, 1992: 11). According to explanations by the interviewees for this thesis, the formulations may either come from the Propaganda Department, or from the government, but it is not quite clear

which was the correct source. The Propaganda Department is an internal division of the Chinese Communist Party, in charge of ideology-related work, which licenses and gives directives to media outlets. Not surprisingly, directives on how to describe migrant workers in the media were possibly either issued by the local government or the Propaganda Department. Based on the published information and interviews, efforts were made by the researcher to look for the specific date and official paper in which either the local government or Propaganda Department issued the directive to abolish the use of the term non-state workers, but these efforts failed. Schoenhals (1992: 31) already argued the reason for this: information concerning changes in the appropriate formulations is constantly being communicated from higher to lower levels within the Chinese Communist Party, and more often, it is in the form of intra-bureaucratic Party internal circulars, and the directives that describe required or forbidden terminology are rarely intended for all citizens.

Therefore, formulations are part of reason that has driven the term non-state workers out of the newspapers, and this indicates the power of politics in representing migrant workers in the evening newspapers.

6.3.2 The Influence of Humanistic Concern

Apart from the influence of the Party's ordered formulations, the changing description of migrant worker may be the result of humanistic concern (人文关怀, *ren wen guan huai*) towards migrant workers. Humanistic concern has been frequently mentioned by Chinese media scholars and Chinese journalists. Nearly all the interviewed journalists and senior managers mentioned that issues about migrant workers should be reported with humanistic concern. Thus, they use respectful terms to describe migrant workers, instead of discriminatory terms. Yu (2001) argued that humanistic concern is one of the basic dimensions of Marxist philosophy, and it is concerned with the people's living conditions, respecting their dignity, pursuing people's liberty and respecting people's humanity. Qiu (2012) argued that humanistic

concern is to respect, understand, care for and protect people. Qiu (2012) wrote that the idea of humanistic concern was part of the Communist ideology that Chinese leaders, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Hu Jintao, have continued to promote. Therefore, educated in a socialist environment, Chinese citizens have been frequently encouraged to show humanistic concern for others, especially to the vulnerable. Nearly all the interviewees explained that they should respect migrant workers and use more respectful terms to describe them.

“We should respect the vulnerable and disadvantaged people, because they have sensitive hearts. We will use respectful terms to describe them, for example to describe them as workers, the same term used for urban workers, not non-state workers. This is the newspapers’ responsibility.” (Xie Huahua)

“Non-state workers is a discriminatory term. Master (Shifu) is a more friendly term.” (Qin Liubo)

“Both non-state workers and peasant workers are discriminatory terms. Migrant workers have been in a disadvantaged position for a long time, and they have been treated like second class citizens by the urban people. They are doing urban workers’ work, but have been tagged as peasants. This is wrong, and we must change this situation.” (Yuan Qingle)

“We usually make our own decision on how to describe migrant workers. However, I suggested that we use pseudonyms to describe the vulnerable people that we helped. Thus, to respect their dignity.” (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“Both the terms non-state workers and peasant workers easily remind people about social unrest. Migrant workers are facing a lot of difficulties in the cities already: if you continue to emphasize them as a special group, it is not good. If you use the terms incorrectly, it may annoy them and make them angry.” (Ma Shanshan)

These data from interviews with senior managers and journalists show that some journalists chose not to use discriminatory terms to describe migrant workers,

treating them in the same way as urban workers, while other journalists do not use the terms because they do not want to cause trouble by alienating migrant workers. However, the ideology of humanistic concern has existed for a long time in Chinese political discourse, and it may be difficult to explain that why it is only in recent years, not in the 1980s when large-scale migration began, that Chinese journalists started to respect migrant workers.

6.3.3 The Influence of Journalism Ethical Standards in Journalism

The data collected from journalists and senior managers show that, in the early reports, journalists working on the evening newspapers did not follow any ethical standards when reporting disadvantaged people. When reporting migrant workers as victims and people who need help, full real names were frequently used. This may hurt their feelings, or cause trouble for migrant workers and their families in the future. Journalists should avoid chasing victims, and respect their feelings. Using specific job titles and the term workers to describe migrant workers, not emphasizing that they were farmers, or from other places, and not differentiating them from urban workers, shows that the journalists in the evening newspapers were more fair and objective in their reports in 2010, and the terms they used for migrant workers were non-discriminatory.

Journalists in the evening newspapers gain knowledge of the ethical standards of journalism from their university education, job training or acquire this knowledge little by little through their daily work. Choosing accurate terms to describe migrant workers is part of their responsibility as journalists, who should be honest and fair in gathering, reporting and interpreting information. Journalists in the evening newspapers have acted more professionally in recent years in dealing with socially disadvantaged people.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In the early reports, journalists in the evening newspapers tended to highlight migrant workers' countryside background and their differences from urban workers, describing them as non-state workers, peasant workers, people from other places: terms which emphasized the geographic and social differences between migrant workers and urban workers. Based on the discussion in Section 6.1, it is apparent that most of these terms contain discrimination. However, in 2010, this situation had clearly changed. Specific job titles were commonly used to describe migrant workers. Though migrant workers were still not treated in the same way as urban workers, the evening newspapers have adopted fairer non-discriminatory terms to refer to them. This chapter mainly offers textual evidence from the changing usage of terms to describe migrant workers to show that evening newspapers have changed their representation of migrant workers over recent years. More explanation on what factors have influenced Chinese evening newspapers' representation of migrant workers will be given in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 Reports on Criminal Offences and Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers

Introduction

The selected reports have been assigned to different categories based on their main themes (see Chapter 5). For example, the categories “migrant workers have made a big contribution to the local economy”, “helping migrant workers to overcome the difficulties in their lives”, “improving social security for migrant workers”, “criminal offences by migrant workers” and “industrial accidents involving migrant workers”. In this section, discourse analysis will be used to explore how evening newspapers report issues about migrant workers, by analysing the reports with the themes of “criminal offences by migrant workers” and “industrial accidents involving migrant workers”.

7.1 Selection of Themes

Both industrial accidents and criminal offences are public issues. They both affect individuals and involve public bodies, e.g. local authorities, the police and fire service. Industrial accidents are defined as incidents leading to injury or death at a workplace caused by either accident or negligence. Industrial accidents can affect the victims, the victims’ families, the companies, and even the entire industry. Once an industrial accident happens, it will involve the local authorities, firemen, police, hospitals, insurance companies and others. Accident reports in the media usually tell people what has happened, help people to understand why the accident occurred and who should take responsibility for the accident, and provide suggestions to avoid future accidents of a similar nature. These reports also encourage all related organizations and staff to participate in safety improvements. Criminal offences are activities that are punishable by law. A criminal offence can be committed

intentionally, recklessly, or negligently. A criminal offence usually involves related local authorities, the victims, the local police, lawyers, the hospitals and courts. Reports on criminal offences in the media can help to identify the motive of the criminals, support the victims in avoiding future offences, and encourage the related authorities to take steps to enhance safety.

Reports on both “industrial accidents” and “criminal offences” are seen as important reports by Chinese media scholars. Wang (2010a) pointed out that Chinese media have an obligation to inform the public about what has happened, and reporting these criminal offences can stop the spread of rumours about them. These reports could also put pressure on authorities and organizations affected, and push them to issue policies which could help avoid similar criminal activities in the future (Wang, 2010a). Wang (2007) explained the importance for the Chinese media to report industrial accidents: the public can gain knowledge about safety from these reports, these reports are attributable to the “correct guidance” of public opinion, and motivate the employers to promote high safety standards in the work place. Wang (2010b) complained that biased reports about industrial accidents in the Chinese media damaged the reputations of some companies, and even caused bankruptcy for some of them. Wang (2010a) and Wang (2007) imply that the media in China has a special responsibility entrusted to them by the Communist Party, to keep China’s social order, harmony and good government, and meanwhile, the seriousness of both “industrial accidents” and “criminal offences” reports in the Chinese media is also addressed.

“Industrial accidents” and “criminal offences” are usually unexpected events, and reporting these events will show journalists’ abilities to obtain emerging stories, and to deal with sensitive issues. It will show whether the journalists report the event in an accurate, engaging and balanced manner or not, whether they cite multiple sources to reflect diverse views, and whether they are fair, honest and respectful of journalistic ethics. Thus, two themes were chosen as a lens through which to explore

the ways in which issues concerning the migrant workers issues have been reported by Chinese journalists in the evening newspapers over the last two decades.

7.1.1 Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers

According to China Labour Watch (2007), 90% of industrial accidents involving migrant workers were injuries to the workers' hands or arms. Besides losing limbs, migrant workers were frequently burned by scalding water, chemicals or metals, or were hurt in vehicle accidents. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, 2008) reported that, in 2004, industrial accidents caused about 12,000 migrant workers' deaths in China. However, this number may not be correct, since in reality, some industrial accidents involving migrant workers were not recorded, because they were solved by private settlements between the employers and victims without the incidents being registered with the local labour bureau. In most cases, migrant workers do not have labour contracts with their employers, nor do they have insurance (SACOM, 2009). Industrial injury compensation is a complicated issue, and the amount of compensation and medical costs paid depends on the will of their employers (CLW, 2007).

A report published by the China Chemical Safety Association (2001) stated "the management of temporary workers and migrant workers was not part of our regular job, and we tended to care more about the permanent employees than the temporary workers and migrant workers." It is only in the last 10 years, that some policies about safety and health for migrant workers were issued. These policies include, "Safety Regulations of Shaanxi Transportation Industry on employing migrant workers", issued by Shaanxi Provincial Transport Department (2002) and "Shandong Construction work management (2003)" issued by Shandong Provincial Construction Department and others. In 2004, the Shanghai Public Work Projects Association published a report and required migrant workers to be trained before they started to work.

Some international organizations have paid close attention to health and safety issues of migrant workers in China. China Labour Watch (2007) found that “carelessness”, “fatigue”, “machinery malfunction” and “lack of training” were typical causes of injury. Based on a survey of 1284 migrant workers working on construction sites in six cities in China, a Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehaviour (SACOM, 2009) survey found that more than 95% of respondents had no job training and in most cases, they were given only safety helmets and safety belts. The SACOM (2009) survey also showed that 95% of migrant workers worked overtime regularly, and that they were required to work at the weekend and on national holidays.

Occupational illnesses are seen as industrial accidents in China. According to figures from the Ministry of Health, there were a total of over 27,000 cases of work-related illnesses in 2010, and 69 percent of them were from the coal, railway, and non-ferrous metals sectors (Xinhua, 2011). SACOM (2009) found that the most common occupational illness is chemical poisoning, related to electronics, printing, footwear, plastic and rubber, or wood products. It is very common that even when working in highly dangerous working environments, migrant workers do not usually receive any body or health checks. In December 2011, China adopted an amendment to the law on occupational illness prevention and control in a bid to better protect worker’s legal rights (Xinhua, 2011).

7.1.2 Criminal Offences by Migrant Workers

Migrant workers were seen as the prime criminals who disturbed the social order during the 1990s. The Beijing police recorded that 22.5% of all criminal offences in the city were committed by migrant workers in 1990, and this increased to 30% in 1991, 37.6% in 1992, 43% in 1993 and 46.2% in 1994. In 1995, 70,000 migrant workers were found to be delinquents, gamblers or prostitutes in Beijing, and half of them were sent back home (Li, 1995). In Shanghai, most of the bicycles that were stolen in 1993 were stolen by migrant workers (Xiao, 1994). The Shanghai Police

Association (1998) stated that 8400 migrant workers were arrested for committing criminal offences in 1996 in Shanghai. Shi (1998) pointed out that increasing economic pressure in the cities made migrant workers eagerly pursue money, and in order to get money more quickly, they turned to illegal means.

Cheng & Wen (2002) wrote that 90 percent of robberies, murders, rapes, prostitution charges and drug trafficking that occurred in Shenzhen were committed by a floating population, who did not have stable jobs, no legal paper work and no fixed living addresses. Li (2004) pointed out that migrant workers were not able to defend themselves when their legal rights were infringed, so they used extreme ways to solve the problems: for example, they stole companies' products or property, attacked their bosses, and kidnapped their bosses' families. Li (2004a) explained the underlying reasons for criminal offences committed by migrant workers: although doing the same jobs, and having the same working experiences, they were paid less than the urban workers, and they could be fired at any time. Li & Cheng (2005) claimed that both institutional discrimination and social discrimination against migrant workers hurt migrant workers' feelings, and caused violent hate crimes. Li (2004) also argued that it was the feeling of "relative deprivation" that caused migrant workers to commit crimes frequently.

In recent years, criminal offences by migrant workers, especially by young migrant workers, have become a big concern to society. Liu (2011) reported that the latest statistics showed that 95% of criminal cases involving young people (someone aged 14 or over but under 18) as perpetrators within the Qipu area in Shanghai were related to migrant workers. The latest statistics from Shunyi Court in Beijing said that young migrant workers accounted for 39% of the total number of criminal offences there in the first 10 months of 2010 (Zheng, 2010). Liu (2011) explained that the Hukou restrictions made it difficult for migrant workers to receive social welfare like other local residents in the cities, and this frustration drove them to crime. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences released a report in February, 2011 (Xinhua, 2011a), which stated that young migrant workers committed a third of

China's criminal offences in 2010, and concluded that discrimination and unfairness caused these criminal offences.

7.2 Analytical framework

The main objective in this section is to set out an analytical framework for the analysis of the selected reports. This proposed analytical framework will provide guidance for the researcher to understand the newspapers' reports systematically, and to develop a reflective analysis. The framework includes six major components, which are (1) how the newspapers report the causes of crime or accidents, (2) what language (language indicating discrimination, mocking, sneering, respect, care or apathy) is used to describe the criminals or victims, (3) whether or not the voices of migrant workers were included in the reports, (4) what were the news' sources, (5) what kinds of pictures were chosen to go with the articles, and (6) how the relevant public sector involved was represented in these reports; in particular to investigate whether any compliments were used to refer to the local authorities or not.

7.2.1 Reporting the Causes

A journalist has a professional duty to present an accurate portrayal of events as they occur. They uncover facts and report on what the public is interested in. Both the industrial accidents and criminal offences are safety issues that concern the public and it is very important to inform the public about the causes of accidents and crime. Reporting the causes of accidents or criminal offences can inform the public about potential dangers and threats, urge the related organizations to take steps to avoid future accidents or criminal offences, and it also provides evidence to relevant policy-makers.

Industrial accidents have underlying causes as well as direct causes. Direct causes include carelessness, fatigue, inexperience and wrong attitudes, and underlying causes include failure in the management and workers working in a dangerous environment without proper protection. The process of identifying the causes of accidents by the media is the process of portraying the image of migrant workers, and it also reflects the journalists' work: the journalists can provide simple causal explanations for the accidents, or they can conduct a thorough investigation; they can simply lay blame on the workers, or they can find the root or underlying causes of the accidents and write a fair and balanced report.

The causes of offences committed by migrant workers can be varied. They may be motivated by a triggering event or incident, such as hate crimes and discriminatory incidents. The cause of a particular offence may be an instrument through which an individual migrant worker, who lacks the resources needed to achieve his goals, can become a dominant person. The underlying reasons could be discrimination or exclusion, work or education difficulties, unfair social welfare treatment, and culture shock. The causes of crimes committed by migrant workers, as reported in the media are very important in shaping public opinion toward migrant workers. From this information, the public can better understand migrant workers and thus, the related organizations can take steps to avoid similar tragedies. These reports show the practice of journalists in the evening newspapers: some journalists simply blamed migrant workers, describing them as evil and accusing them of being violent, but some journalists tried to be accurate, dug further and discovered the underlying reasons. The differences between journalists dealing with the causes of the criminal offences show whether the journalists are biased or not, and whether they are professional or not.

7.2.2 Linguistic Analysis

The different terms which were used to refer to migrant workers over the last two decades in the selected articles are discussed in Chapter (6), and in this section, the discussion mainly focuses on the other descriptive words.

As an aspect of discourse analysis, linguistic analysis is a useful tool in determining the representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers. Richardson (2007: 13) wrote that “language is an instrument that is shaped by material circumstances and the purpose that the writers want to achieve.” Richardson (2007: 48) gave an example to explain how “the words” are used to shape the event: when reporting the Iraq War, if someone says, “Britain and America have conquered Iraq”, the verb “conquer” suggests mass murder and an unlawful invasion; if they use “liberate”, it suggests that Britain and America have freed the people, and they have done something good. Here, the different words can represent Britain and America either as “bad guys” or “good guys”. Likewise, if a journalist used “what a poor man” to describe the victim, the denoted meaning is that this man is unlucky; the connoted meaning may suggest that the victim is in a disadvantaged situation, and the journalist is showing sympathy to him. Richardson (2007:38) also suggested that textual analysis does not simply mean the linguistic form and content of texts, and it should be considered in the overall social domains in which these texts are used: that is these texts may be involved directly or indirectly in discriminatory interaction or biased discourse against disempowered individuals and groups (van Dijk, 2002: 149). He also pointed out that “words convey the imprint of society and of value judgement in particular, and they convey both connoted and denoted meanings. All types of words, but particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs carry connoted meaning in addition to denoted meanings.” The choice of words helps to give meanings to the text, to influence, persuade and offer ideological views about the subject.

Based on a close reading of the original text in all the selected articles, the descriptive language that is used to describe migrant workers will be identified, whether they are victims of an accident or suspects. This language will be put into the social context, and being discussed whether they indicate discrimination, mockery, sneering, respect, care or apathy or not, and what the underlying implications of the usage are.

7.2.3 “Enfranchised” or “Voiceless”

The media does not represent all social groupings equally, and this can be clearly seen in terms of who gets to be interviewed (Fairclough, 1989:51). Identifying whether migrant workers are voiceless, being excluded from expressing themselves, or whether they are given opportunities to tell their own stories, can help to understand the representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers, and it also shows the journalism practice and performance in dealing with migrant workers.

Bell (1991: 192) pointed out that most of the time, journalists tend to use a narrow range of sources. In some ways, “news is what an authoritative source tells a journalist”, and the alternative sources, such as minorities and the socially disadvantaged people “tend to be ignored”. Richardson (2007: 88) argued that the content of newspapers has tended to be shaped by powerful groups in society, and the majority of newspapers rely on information offered by the dominant groups or institutions. If some groups or individuals do not succeed in having their voices heard, this could be seen as evidence that they were treated unequally by the media, because of the differential allocation of speaking rights (Blommaert, 1999: 8).

Dunlevy (1998:129) explained why journalists were so quick to turn to information from the powerful people. From the perspective of journalism practice, “news work is geared towards tight deadlines, facts must be quickly identified and verified...When the facts [that the reporter] gathers challenge commonly accepted views of the world they require higher levels of verification and substantiation. They

might demand that each challenging fact be verified by more than one independent source. Thus facts about the powerful are treated with more care than those about the powerless.”

Based on the argument above, a conclusion can be drawn that migrant workers in China, as disadvantaged and marginalized people, are ignored by the evening newspapers in China. This conclusion may not be correct. Chinese media scholar Wu (2007:164) suggested that migrant workers were already being paid attention by Chinese evening newspapers in the 1990s: Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper from Chengdu, Sichuan Province, one of the most popular commercialized evening newspapers in China, started to write the stories of ordinary people, including teachers, students, childless senior citizens, disabled people, policemen, soldiers, cadres of residents committees and migrant workers in 1995. Thus, whether migrant workers were interviewed or not, whether they gave their side of stories or not, and whether they were ignored, invisible and voiceless will be identified.

7.2.4 Sources of News

The news sources do not refer to those who are interviewed in the stories, but those who give stories to journalists. Journalists working for Chinese media usually get news sources from their colleagues, friends or relatives, from other related reports, from press releases at conferences, from news correspondents (新闻通讯员, *xin wen tong xun yuan*) based at their own institutions or organizations, and from the public either by letter, by telephone or email.

News correspondents have remained an important source for news stories in the last two decades in China. The Chinese Evening Newspapers Association Committee (2001) showed that the news correspondents’ tradition could be traced back to the 1940s, and was adopted by the Communist Party who aimed to encourage the local authorities, organizations, and large factories to feed their news stories to the media.

Li (1990) wrote that in 1987, the National News Publication Bureau issued “Regulations for Chinese journalists” and encouraged news organizations to recruit news correspondents to assist their work. It requires that the news correspondents should not be the news organizations’ own staff, and their jobs should be based at their own institutions or organizations, to gather and write their own news stories and offer them to news organizations. These news correspondents are similar to Public Relations officers in the West, and they are expected by their employers to have the stories about their institutions and organizations published prominently in the media. Usually, the news correspondents have to keep a good relationship with journalists: as Tong (2011:89) suggested, they need to gain the favour of journalists.

In the last decade, the most significant change to news sources for the Chinese evening newspapers was the growth of News Hotlines. Almost all evening newspapers across China have opened News Hotlines. The development of News Hotlines in China cannot be separated from the wider use of phones among citizens, which makes it easy and fast for citizens to pass information to journalists. Before that, readers could only write letters to newspapers, which was slow and inefficient, and it was also difficult for people who had not received much education, such as migrant workers, to tell their stories in words. Wu (2007), Liu & Fu (2003) and the Chinese Evening Newspapers Association Committee (2001) stated that News Hotlines helped newspapers to get instant news, and it brought the newspapers closer to their readers. They also argued that this strategy indicated that that evening newspapers put the readers’ requirements as a top priority.

In reporting industrial accidents involving migrant workers and criminal offences committed by migrant workers, two types of information can be obtained: authoritative information and the unofficial information. The former includes information from the local labour bureau, local police station, rescue team and hospital. The latter includes information from the witnesses at the scene, the victims or the families, friends and colleagues of the victims, the suspects, or the families, friends and colleagues of the suspects. Identifying how the information is obtained in

the media can help to understand what factors influenced the reports in the evening newspapers. It can also help to find out to whom the media showed favouritism, and who the media ignored.

7.2.5 Visual Analysis

Fairclough (1989: 28) suggested that pictures play as important a role in getting across the meaning of a report in a newspaper as the verbal report, and very often visuals and verbal reports work to reinforce each other. Lester (1995) pointed out that images could evoke immediate emotional responses among viewers: for example, sensational images of victims of violence are often shown in the newspapers, because a majority of viewers are attracted and intrigued by such stories, and “If it bleeds, it leads” is a popular, unspoken sentiment in many newsrooms. Szarkowski (1980) argued that a powerful picture can shock the public, but it can also offend, mislead, stereotype and confuse people. Pictures are not equal, and different pictures convey different meanings (Fairclough, 1989: 52). For example, images with gory details from crime or accident scenes emphasize the horror and brutality of the events, and images showing the victims being rescued indicate the organizations involved and community support shown to the victims. Gory pictures may easily draw the readers’ attention, but Lester (1991) suggested that some pictures of the accident scenes are too violent to show to the public. Lester (1991) also argued that the privacy of victims should be respected, and pictures should only be published with their consent. Lester (1995) stressed that displaying violent, sensational images to attract readers violates a person’s privacy. The manipulation of news-editorial pictures and the stereotyping of individuals into pre-conceived categories have always been of concern to journalists.

Therefore, this thesis will explore whether or not the newspapers take ethical issues into consideration, whether the victims’ privacy is respected or not when they publish pictures to accompany the reports, and whether or not evening newspapers are only

keen to make a profit by reporting sensational stories. Whether or not the newspapers show the victims' faces and names will also be discussed. Analysing the way newspapers deal with pictures will be useful in helping to understand what editorial lines evening newspapers have adopted towards migrant workers and the nature of their journalism practice when dealing with migrant workers.

7.2.6 The Public Sector in the Reports

It was discussed in 7.2.4 that news correspondents based at their own institutions or organizations have remained an important source for news stories in the last two decades in China. The news correspondents turned to write about the achievements of their institutions or organizations, and all of their reports are written from a positive perspective showing favouritism to their own organizations or authorities (Chinese Evening Newspapers Association Committee, 2001). For example, complimentary language may be frequently used in their reports. These reports may influence journalists' representations of the related organizations or authorities in their dealings with migrant workers. Thus it can be seen that commercialized evening newspapers offer PR opportunities for these groups. It was also discussed in 7.2.3 that journalists tend to rely on information offered by the dominant groups or institutions, because the information from these groups was seen as reliable and authoritative. The information from them is also easily accessed, since these organizations or authorities have a duty to inform the public, explain their policies and decisions, and respond to the concerns of the public. Meanwhile, their communication with the public through the evening newspapers can show their achievements at work, and also help them to build a good image.

However, journalists can rewrite the reports from news correspondents or the information they obtain from the dominant groups or institutions, and decide what news should be delivered to the public. Journalists in the evening newspapers have a duty to question the related authorities and organizations to investigate more about

their subjects, such as the motivation for migrant workers to commit criminal offences, and the causes of industrial accidents involving migrant workers. Discussion about the representation of the authorities and organizations in dealing with migrant workers in the evening newspapers can help to understand the relationships between evening newspapers and the organizations or authorities and the evening newspapers' attitudes toward migrant workers. It also shows evening newspapers' journalism practices, and measures whether journalists in the evening newspapers are objective or fair, and whether they devote themselves to a certain group or not.

7.3 The Presence of Migrant Workers in the Themed Reports

Reports with the themes of “criminal offences committed by migrant workers” and “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” were chosen by the researcher for further analysis. The number of the chosen articles in each newspapers and in each period were listed respectively (see Table 7, below). Altogether, 35 articles with the themes of “criminal offences committed by migrant workers” and 35 articles with themes of “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” were included.

Table 7.1 Number of selected articles with the selected themes

Number of selected articles with the theme of “criminal offences committed by migrant workers”

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Qilu Evening News | (1988) 3 | (2004) 3 | (2010) 5 |
| Jinan Times | (1996) 3 | (2004) 10 | (2010) 2 |
| Life Daily | (1998) 2 | (2004) 2 | (2010) 1 |
| Shandong Commercial News | (2002) 0 | (2004) 2 | (2010) 2 |

Number of selected articles with the themes of “industrial accidents involving migrant workers”

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Qilu Evening News | (1988) 0 | (2004) 3 | (2010) 5 |
| Jinan Times | (1996) 2 | (2004) 2 | (2010) 1 |
| Life Daily | (1998) 3 | (2004) 3 | (2010) 5 |
| Commercial News | (2002) 3 | (2004) 2 | (2010) 6 |

Using the analytical framework, the selected articles were read through, and the relevant information identified and listed into two tables, named “data of reports with the theme of criminal offences by migrant workers” (Table 7.2, *see Appendix*) and “data of reports with the theme of industrial accidents involving migrant workers” (Table 7.3, *see Appendix*).

7.4 Findings and Analysis

7.4.1 From Subjective Judgements to Critical Analysis

This section discusses how the causes of criminal offences and accidents were reported in the selected articles.

Looking at Table 7.2, it can be noticed that in the early reports, the motivation of criminals was not usually mentioned in the reports, and when it was, it was mainly explained as “for money” or “to become rich”. In the Life Daily report on July 10, 1998, it was explained in the article that the reason for the criminal offences of migrant workers was “revenge”. In 2004, money was still reported as the main cause of criminal offences by migrant workers, and other reasons reported in the evening newspapers include migrant workers “wanting to show off” and migrant workers

finding it difficult to make money by laboring work alone. In 2010, diverse and complex reasons for criminal offences by migrant workers were reported, such as the fact that migrant workers were not happy with their income, that they could not tolerate being looked down upon and they found it difficult to find jobs. This shows that the representation of migrant workers has become fairer and more objective. It was also obvious that journalists in the evening newspapers chose to use a humanistic approach to explain the motivations for migrant workers to commit criminal offences in recent years. The representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers changed from that of a group of greedy money pursuers to that of normal human beings, who have self-esteem, emotions and worries.

Table 7.3 shows that in the early reports, the causes of accidents were not usually critically questioned by the journalists in the evening newspapers. In eight reports, only one article discussed the potential underlying reasons that caused the accidents, the article on June 30, 2002, in Shandong Commercial News. Two reports pointed out that carelessness of the part of the migrant workers, who were also the victims of the accidents, was the reason for the accidents. In the articles from 2004, carelessness and the lack of safety protection were frequently mentioned by journalists in the evening newspapers as the main causes of the accidents. Two articles investigated a little bit further, and pointed out that “unqualified migrant workers” (July 20, 2004 Qilu Evening News) and “lack of strict supervision from the management” (July 22, 2004 Life Daily), caused the accidents. In 2010, the causes of accidents were frequently explained by journalists in the evening newspapers as “carelessness”, “no safety protection”, “unqualified migrant workers” and “no professional training and supervision for migrant workers”. In these reports, policies about health and safety protection for migrant workers were occasionally discussed in the evening newspapers. It is obvious there has been a change in the ways that the journalists displayed the causes of industrial accidents involving migrant workers, from only pointing out an individual migrant worker’s carelessness, to the further investigation of the management deficiencies. This change indicates that journalists in the evening newspapers have become more objective and critical in their journalistic practice.

Examples: Reports themed as criminal offences by migrant workers

In the selected article of July 10, 1998 in Life Daily, the cause of this criminal offence was explained in the first paragraph, “A temporary worker was not happy with the punishment he received from his employer, and he turned to violent revenge.” It was also mentioned in the last paragraph that the failure of a job agency in checking the identity of the migrant worker was the indirect reason. Terms such as “extremely vicious” (穷凶极恶, *qiong xiong ji'e*), “like a madman” (疯了似的, *fa feng shi de*), “cruel and ferocious” (凶狠残忍, *xiong hen can ren*), and “like a ghost” (幽灵一样, *you ling yi yang*) were used to describe the migrant worker in this report. Clearly, this report contains the subjective inference of the journalist, and this suspect is stigmatized as a violent, evil character.

In the selected article of June 29, 2004, in the Jinan Times, the criminal offence by a migrant worker was repeatedly explained both at the beginning and also at the end of this report, as “He thought it was difficult to make money by hard labouring work, and then he had a dishonest idea to steal the electrical power cable”, and “He found it too difficult to make money by doing hard labour work, and then he had the idea of stealing the electrical power cable”. It seemed that the writer of this article provided a reasonable justification for the wrongdoing of the migrant worker: it was too difficult for him to make money through a honest and legal means. The understanding from the journalist towards the migrant worker can be clearly seen.

In the selected article of June 23, 2010, in the Qilu Evening News, the third line in the second paragraph, “in the detention house, Ye told a journalist” (叶某在看守所中对记者说, *Ye mou zai kan shou suo zhong dui ji zhe shuo*), it shows that the journalist investigated the criminal motivation of the migrant worker by himself. The information in this report was based on the journalist’s own interviews, and not the news correspondents from the police. In three different parts of this article, the journalist stressed the causes of the migrant worker’s criminal offences, using phrases such as “His self esteem was challenged”, “He felt like a wimp” and “Ye

said ‘It might be caused by my paranoid personality’”. Also, the journalist found out that the direct reason for his criminal offence was that the employer did not pay his wages on time, and when this migrant worker asked for his delayed wages, he was beaten up by thugs working for his employer. In this report, the journalist not only told the story about his crime, but also dug out the underlying reasons behind his act. At the same time, there were no words or terms to indicate that the journalist blamed this migrant worker for his criminal offence. Instead, the journalist interviewed him, giving him an opportunity to explain himself. This in-depth report shows that the suspect is granted respect and equal rights as an ordinary person. Thus, in 2010, journalists in the evening newspapers were reporting in an objective and fair way.

In conclusion, these three articles from 1998, 2004 and 2010 show respectively the journalistic practice in reporting the causes of criminal offences by migrant workers: from making subjective judgements and stigmatization of migrant workers, to understanding migrant workers better, to writing an in-depth report and giving migrant workers a chance to speak for themselves, the journalists in the evening newspapers have become fairer and more objective.

Examples: Reports themed as industrial accidents involving migrant workers

The main heading of the selected article published on June 17, 1998, in Life Daily, is “Workers working high up should pay attention to safety”, and the subheading of this article is “Yesterday, a migrant worker was careless and fell to his death from a high building”. In the first paragraph of this article, the cause of this accident is also explained, “A migrant worker was installing a new window on the fourth floor, but his safety belt was broken, and he fell to his death”. In this report, the “carelessness” of the migrant worker is emphasized by being included in the subheading, although it was clearly pointed out in the article that the safety belt of the victim was broken. There are no discussions on whether this accident was caused by the bad quality of

the safety belt, or whether any other protective measures were used. This shows that journalist simply drew the conclusion, without further investigation, that the death of migrant worker was due to human carelessness. It is a subjective and unconvincing explanation from the reporter.

The main heading of the selected article published on July 22, 2004, in the Shandong Commercial News, is “An elevator fell and one migrant worker died”. The cause of this accident was briefly mentioned at the end of this article: an insider told the journalist: both migrant workers and their bosses should take responsibility for this accident. I often saw that migrant workers did not wear safety hats and safety belts. The bosses were not strict with the safety regulations either.” In this report, the journalist looked for the cause of the accident by interviewing insiders, and did not make his own judgement. The journalist was more objective in his report than the journalists in the previous case. However, there was no deep investigation.

The article of July 13, 2010, in Life Daily, contains three parts: the final part was the investigation into the cause of the accident. The title for this part was: “Ignoring safety rules, nearly all the air conditioning installers had not received any specialist training”. The journalist found that the State Safety Supervision Bureau required that the specialist operators should have occupational qualification certificates before taking the jobs, and they should also receive training for working at height. However, in reality, in China, air conditioning installation was not listed as a national specialist technical job and there were no organizations that could issue occupational qualification certificates and offer special training for them. Also, there were no related regulations, criteria and protection aimed at air conditioning installers. Here, the journalist identified possible fundamental causes, and addressed that the ignorance of state policies was the real reason behind this accident. This is an objective and comprehensive report, with an honesty which was rarely seen in the earlier data.

As a conclusion, these three articles in 1998, 2004 and 2010 show respectively the journalistic practice in reporting the causes of industrial accidents involving migrant workers: from making the subjective judgements, to being objective, but without further investigation, to identifying the underlying reasons and critically questioning the related government policies, the journalists in the evening newspapers have become more objective and fairer. At the same time, the representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers has gradually become more accurate.

7.4.2 Changes in Use of Language

Reports themed as criminal offences by migrant workers

Data in the 1980s & 1990s

Table 7.2 shows that a lot of emotional, discriminatory words and phrases were frequently used to describe migrant workers in the selected early data, such as, “she even stole her bra” (甚至, *shen zhi*) and “settled down” (落户, *luo hu*) in the Qilu Evening News June 5, 1988 article. The term “settled down (*luo hu*)” contains entertaining and disrespectful elements. A scornful and a disdainful attitude from the journalist towards migrant workers was shown. The term “even” (甚至, *shen zhi*) was used and it implies the ridiculousness of the maid, who stole the bras and laundry detergent, committing petty and stupid crimes. In the same newspaper, in the article of June 6, 1988, the newspaper used the phrases “It was said” and “such a way to get rich” to emphasize that migrant workers had a lack of credibility and made money through illegal means. These terms imply a mocking and sneering attitude towards migrant workers from the journalists. In the Jinan Times and Life Daily, many ironic and subjective words were also used by the journalist to describe migrant workers, such as “so audacious” (大胆, *da dan*), “dreaming of becoming rich” (做着发财梦, *zuo zhe fa cai meng*), “stole into quickly and secretly” (窜, *cuan*), “extremely vicious” (穷凶极恶, *qiong xiong*)

ji'e) ,”like a madman” (发疯似的, *fa feng shi de*) , “cruel and ferocious” (凶狠残忍, *xiong hen can ren*) and “like a ghost” (幽灵一样, *you ling yi yang*) . Therefore, in the 1980s and 1990s, migrant workers were frequently represented as greedy, violent, stupid and untrustworthy people in the evening newspapers and the language used to describe them contained strong subjectivity and discrimination from the journalists.

Data in 2004

In 2004, emotional and subjective terms were still widely used to describe migrant workers who committed criminal offences. Compared to the reports in the 1980s and 1990s, these migrant workers were no longer being represented as stupid, but as sly. This change could be seen through the terms, such as “too sly” (太有心计, *tai you xin ji*) , “have planned for a long time” (预谋已久, *yu mou yi jiu*) , “well-planned” (周密策划, *zhou mi ce hua*) . Also, migrant workers were still represented as violent and evil people in the evening newspapers. Terms, such as “evil hands” (毒手, *du shou*) , “have evil intentions” (心生歹念, *xin sheng dai nian*) and “evil gangsters” (歹毒, *dai tu*) were used to describe them. At the same time, migrant workers were also portrayed as “indolent” (好逸恶劳, *hao yi wu lao*) people who “enjoyed a luxury lifestyle” (风光, *feng guang*) . The examples of linguistic discrimination were very obvious, such as the terms “ran away like a scared mouse” (鼠窜, *shu cuan*) , “ran like a homeless dog” (丧家犬般仓惶逃窜, *sang jia quan ban cang huang tao cuan*) and “shamefaced” (可怜相, *ke lian xiang*) .

Data in 2010

In all 11 articles, no terms containing discrimination were used to describe migrant workers. Instead, the language used to describe migrant workers was more considerate of them, for example, in analyzing the motivation for migrant workers to commit criminal offences, phrases such as “not happy with their legal income”, “cannot tolerate being looked down upon”, “paranoid personality”, “hot temper” and “difficult to find a job” were used to portray the images of migrant workers. A lot of detailed descriptions were also used. For example, on June 2, 2010, both Qilu Evening News and Shandong Commercial News published the same story about a migrant worker stealing three CCTV cameras, and both papers used numerous detailed descriptions to provide a vivid image of the migrant worker suspect. “The mysterious (神秘, *shen mi*) man blithely (坦然, *tan ran*) stole the CCTV cameras while he was filmed by the same cameras” (Qilu Evening News), “He used a new glove to wrap up the camera tightly (严严实实, *yan yan shi shi*), treating it carefully, like a precious object (当宝贝一样, *dang bao bei yi yang*).”(Shandong Commercial News). These detailed descriptions made the articles engaging and interesting to read and there are the typical characteristics of human interest stories.

As a conclusion, based on the changes of language being used to describe migrant workers, the representation of migrant workers who were suspects in the evening newspapers, changed from describing them as poorly educated, untrustworthy, greedy and violent people in the 1980s and 1990s, to violent, indolent and sly people in 2004, and by 2010 to human beings who have anger and self-esteem as ordinary people do. It also clearly shows that migrant workers were frequently mocked and discriminated against by journalists in the evening newspapers in the 1980s and 1990s, but by 2010, they had more understanding from the journalists, and they also became the focus of the human interest stories in the evening newspapers.

Reports themed as industrial accidents involving migrant workers

Data from the 1980s & 1990s

The language analysis shows that, in the reports from the 1980s and 1990s, migrant workers were not respected by the journalists in the evening newspapers. In the article of July 23, 1996 in the Jinan Times, the phrases “extreme challenge to life” (挑战生命底线, *tiao zhan sheng ming di xian*) and “It’s a miracle that they survived” (竟奇迹般地活着, *jing qi ji ban di huo zhe*) were used. These terms contain surprise and amazed elements, but without sympathy. In the article in the Life Daily on June 8, 1998, a rhyme is used by the journalist in the subheading of this report: “the beam has not been installed, the house has collapsed” (梁还未加, 新房已塌, *liang huan wei jia, xin fang yi ta*). This playful tone shows that the victims were being made fun of, not being respected.

Shandong Commercial News was founded later. In its 2002 data, “a sad accident” (惨剧, *can ju*) was used to describe the accident. Terms, such as “unfortunately” (不幸, *bu xing*), and they were “from poor families” (家境不好, *jia jing bu hao*) were used to describe the injured migrant workers. These terms imply sympathy from the journalists towards the migrant workers. The emphasis on the family background of migrant workers strongly indicates that journalists showed an emotional reaction and understanding towards them.

Data in 2004

In 2004, among the four evening newspapers, words containing sympathy or compassionate feelings were frequently used by journalists in the evening newspapers to describe migrant workers, such as “unluckily” (不幸, *bu xing*), “met with misfortune” (遭遇不幸, *zao yu bu xing*) and “unfortunate” (不幸,

bu xing) . The usages of terms “delivered rapidly” (急送, *ji song*) , “immediately” (立即, *li ji*) , and “tried their best to save lives” (全力抢救, *quan li qiang jiu*) also showed the concerns of journalists, and they wanted the victims to receive treatment as soon as possible and have less suffering. Also, more language was used by journalists to describe the conditions of the injured migrant workers and their family’s reactions, which had rarely happened in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, in the article of June 11, 2004, in the Shandong Commercial News, the journalist wrote “the victim’s wife was holding her husband’s hands, and said, ‘don’t worry, don’t worry’”; and in the article of July 10, 2004 in Life Daily, the journalist wrote “His left arm was broken and he lost a lot of blood.” These descriptions indicate a new journalistic practice: writing from the perspective of human interest stories. This can also be seen as evidence that the evening newspapers in 2004 were more sympathetic to migrant workers.

Data in 2010

In 2010, emotional words and sentences which contained care and concern were frequently used by journalists, such as “fortunately” (亏了, *kui le*) , “emergency treatment” (急救, *ji jiu*) and “worried a lot” (十分担心, *shi fen dan xin*) . The sentences included, “He is only 18 years old.” “I hope he is alright, or his family will be very upset” and “They were waiting outside and were worried”. For example, in the article published on June 2, 2010 in Life Daily, it was written “The workers were living in a temporary shed. They had to tolerate the cacophony caused by the running engines of the trucks carrying away construction waste, but they were so tired that they fell asleep quickly” and “The tractor driver, another migrant worker, who caused this accident, explained that he could only make 40 yuan (4 pounds) by carrying away one truck load of construction waste, and he had never thought this would happen.” These detailed descriptions drew a picture of migrant workers’ lives,

making this report into an engaging human interest story. The language contains obvious sympathy from journalists towards migrant workers.

In summary, based on the language used to describe migrant workers in the selected themed articles, it is shown that in the reports from the 1980s and 1990, migrant workers were not respected, but occasionally teased; in 2002 and 2004, migrant workers received sympathy and concern from the journalists in the evening newspapers, and in 2010, a humanistic approach to reporting migrant workers was widely used.

7.4.3 From Voiceless to Speaking for Themselves

In Table 7.2, there were eight articles in the early reports data section, and none of them included the voices of migrant workers. In 2004, there were 17 articles and 6 of them included the voices of the migrant workers, with 5 of them using the word “confess” (坦白, *jiao dai*) and one of them using “fully confess” (供认不讳, *gong ren bu hui*) and this indicates that this information came from the local police, because these words were the typical language that the police would use in their reports. As discussed in section 7.2.4, news correspondents from the local police usually provide information to evening newspapers, and it is normal that the news correspondents’ narrative and presentation will influence the journalists’ reports. Altogether, there were 6 reports including the voices of migrant workers in 2004. However, in Chinese language, “jiao dai” (交代, *confess*) and “gong ren bu hui” (供认不讳, *fully confess*) are used typically to refer to the criminals’ confessions, and they contain negative meaning. In 2010, there were 11 reports, and 3 of them included migrant workers’ voices, without using any negative words. These changes show that evening newspapers have gradually become more objective and accurate in reporting migrant workers, and they have a tendency to include more information and more points-of-views in recent years.

In Table 7.3, there were eight articles in the early reports data section, and only one of them included the voices of migrant workers: a migrant worker was interviewed to describe the accident. In 2004, 9 of the 14 articles included the voices of migrant workers: either interviews with the victims, the victims' families, the victims' colleagues, or their friends. In 2010, 11 of 18 articles included the voices of migrant workers. Another 4 articles, which did not include the migrant workers' voices, involved a situation in which the injured migrant workers were dying or dead. In these cases, for example, in the July 29, 2010 article in the Qilu Evening News, after the journalist described what he saw in the hospital, he interviewed the victim's colleague, the victim's supervisor and the doctor.

In summary, in the 1980s and 1990s, the reports with the themes of "criminal offences by migrant workers" and "industrial accidents involving migrant workers" only included the information from the local authorities, and rarely included the voices of the migrant workers. In 2004, the voices of the migrant workers who were suspects were included, but mainly from the police. The voices of migrant workers who were accident victims were also included. In 2010, the voices of migrant workers were widely included in the reports, and their views were obtained from journalists' own interviews. These changes show that the journalism practice of evening newspapers has changed: more points-of-view have been included, and more accurate, objective information has been offered to the readers. The changes also shows that migrant workers have been given more opportunities to speak for themselves, and they have been treated more fairly by the evening newspapers, and received more respect from the journalists in recent years.

7.4.4 From Official News Sources to News Hotlines

Table 7.2 shows that apart from at Qilu Evening News, news correspondents were the main news sources in the 1980s and 1990s' reports. In 2004, 11 out of 17 reports came from news correspondents, and 2 came from News Hotlines. In 2010, out of 11

reports, 8 came from news correspondents and 3 came from News Hotlines. Thus, a conclusion can be drawn that news correspondents from the local police have always been and continue to be the main news sources for reports with the theme of “criminal offences by migrant workers” in the evening newspapers.

In Table 7.3, in the 1980s and 1990s’ reports, news correspondents were the main news sources. In 2002, News Hotlines became the main news sources for Shandong Commercial News. In 2004, all the news sources came via the News Hotlines at Shandong Commercial News and Qilu Evening News. In 2010, all the articles, altogether 13 in total, with the theme of industrial accidents involving migrant workers in Jinan Times, Life Daily and Shandong Commercial News came via News Hotlines, while, for Qilu Evening News, both News Hotlines and news correspondents were main news sources. This shows that News Hotlines had become the main news sources for the reports with the theme of industrial accidents involving migrant workers in recent years.

To sum up, from mainly depending on the official news sources, to widely using News Hotlines to obtain news stories from the ordinary people, evening newspapers have become much closer to the public. By conducting more interviews by journalists themselves, more reports offering points-of-view were provided by journalists, and the reports became more accurate and objective.

7.4.5 Analysis of Images about Crime and Accidents

Table 7.2 shows that in the 1980s and 1990s’ reports, pictures were not widely used. In 8 articles, only 2 pictures were used. In the article in the Qilu Evening News on June 6, 1988, a picture showed a peasant selling false invoices in the city, and there was no concealment or pixellation in this picture (see Picture 1). In the article of July 10, 1998 in the Life Daily, one picture of the victim’s family was published, also without any concealment or pixellation. In 2004, pictures were still not popular, and

in 17 articles, only 2 pictures were used. One picture showed the suspects squatting on the ground, and their faces can be clearly recognized (Jinan Times, June 25, 2004, A9, see Picture 2) and the other picture showed a local policeman surrounded by migrant workers (Life Daily July 26, 2004, A3). In 2010, pictures were frequently used, with 6 out of 11 articles using pictures. Some articles even used four pictures to offer a vivid description of the story (see Picture 3), and, the suspects' faces were all pixellated in these pictures.

Thus, there are clearly changes from few pictures being used in the 1980s and 1990s, to some pictures of suspects being used, but without any concealment or pixellation in 2004, to many pictures of suspects being used, but with concealment and pixellation in 2010. This demonstrates the changes in journalistic practice, and that the suspects' privacy was respected in recent years.

In Table 7.3, in the 1980s and 1990s data, no pictures were used to go with the articles. In 2002, in Shandong Commercial News data, 2 out of 3 articles used pictures, including one picture showing the building where the accident took place and one picture showing the damaged elevator. In 2004, pictures were widely used in the Qilu Evening News, Life Daily and Shandong Commercial News. Most of these pictures were about the injured victims or the accidents scenes, and in these pictures, the victims' faces were not pixellated (see Picture 4 and Picture 5). In 2010, Jinan Times still did not use any pictures. Among the other three newspapers which frequently used pictures, the pictures of victims were rarely used. Instead, most pictures were either of accident scenes or rescue scenes (see Picture 6, Picture 7 and Picture 8). Obviously, in 2010, the evening newspapers respected the victims' privacy by not showing their faces.

Thus, no pictures were used in the 1980s and 1990s to go with the selected themed articles. Many pictures were used in 2004 and 2010, and the themes of the pictures had changed from highlighting the faces of the victims and accident scenes to focusing on rescue operations and accident scenes. This shows the changes in

journalism practice: there is new respect for the rights of the suspects and victims of accidents by not showing their faces. The focus on the rescue scenes in 2010 indicates that either community spirit, or social harmony or both were emphasized by the evening newspapers.

Examples:

Eight pictures were selected as examples to illustrate the arguments described in this thesis.

Pictures for “criminal offences by migrant workers” reports



Picture 1 Qilu Evening News June 6, 1988, 1



Picture 2 Life Daily, July 26, 2004, A3



Picture 3 Jinan Times June 25, 2004, A9



Picture 4 Shandong Commercial News June 2, 2004, C9

Picture 1 is from a news story that happened in 1988 and which was about one peasant making money by improper or illegal means: picking up discarded bus tickets and selling them to people who needed false invoices. In the picture, the peasant was sitting on the ground, inelegantly, with his legs spread out. There was no concealment or pixellation, and it was not difficult to recognize who he was. From the peasant's appearance, this picture must have been secretly photographed by the journalist. As discussed before, with China's opening-up policies, factories and companies in the cities searched for cheap labour. Meanwhile, there was a "surplus population" of labour power in the countryside. Thus, in the early 1980s, the migration of the rural population into the cities began. Many city dwellers worried that migrant workers might compete with them for jobs and put pressure on the services in the cities. Some media stirred up these sentiments by calling migrant workers "blind drifters", which contained the meaning that they wandered around in

the cities, without proper jobs. Picture 1 was published under this broader social background, emphasizing the “blind drifting” of migrant workers. However, it may be only a rare individual case that a migrant worker sells false invoices in the street, and the evening newspaper was biased in highlighting this individual case without further investigation. The recognizable face in the picture also shows that the peasant’s privacy was not respected. Zhang Jiankai, who took this picture 24 years ago, admitted this picture showed an ugly image of migrant workers. Zhang explained that during that time, a lot of urban people were hostile to migrant workers, and it was normal to publish negative images of migrant workers in the evening newspapers.

Looking through all the 17 articles with the theme of “criminal offences by migrant workers” in the 2004 data, only 2 pictures (Picture 2 & Picture 3) were used. Picture 2 shows a policeman encircled by a group of migrant workers to whom he was explaining something. The caption of this picture is: “the police are educating some tricycle owners”. The article reported that the journalists followed the police to deal with the issue of black (*unlicensed*) tricycles run by migrant workers. Both the policeman and migrant workers’ faces are clearly shown. Obviously, this picture was taken to show the work of the police. Picture 3 was taken by Wang Bing, a news correspondent from the local police, rather than a journalist. Both criminals’ faces were clearly shown. The report stated that these two criminals used fake names to commit kidnappings, and the aim of showing their faces to the public was to encourage more victims or witnesses to report their stories to the police. Also, this picture was provided by the news correspondent from the local police, and it would benefit him if this picture was used: the interviewees in this research indicated that news correspondents are tasked with publishing a certain number of articles and pictures to promote their organization’s work.

In 2010, more pictures were used in the evening newspapers, even to tell trivial stories, such as Picture 4: four images were used to tell the story of a migrant worker stealing CCTV cameras. At the same time, the migrant worker’s face was pixellated.

These four images show an amusing scene: the migrant worker did not know the CCTV camera could film him, and the theft was caught on camera. Pictures used in this report could seize the readers' attention immediately and allow readers to see the humour without too many explanations. The use of these vivid images shows evening newspapers' strategies to attract more readers. The pixellated face of the migrant worker in these pictures shows that the journalistic practice in dealing with pictures of criminals has changed: the criminal's privacy was respected.

Pictures for “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” reports



Picture 5 Life Daily, July 10, 2004, A7



Picture 6 Qilu Evening News, June 29, 2004, E3



Picture 7 Qilu Evening News, July 29, 2010, C16



Picture 8 Qilu Evening News, July 22, 2010, A07



Picture 9 Shandong Commercial News, July 22, 2010, C7

No pictures were used in the 1980s and 1990s reports with the theme of “industrial accidents involving migrant workers”. Picture 5 and Picture 6 were published in 2004, and the victims could be easily recognized. In these pictures, the victims were in bandages, and these images clearly show that the victims were suffering from a cruel accident. Through seeing these images, the victims could quickly gain sympathy from the readers, and these images engage readers easily. Further, as suggested by one of the interviewees, the recognizable faces in the pictures may have become an important tool to help migrant workers. Zuo Qing, senior photographer from Life Daily, who has taken many similar pictures, explained, “in order to fight for compensation, migrant workers have to provide evidence for their claims, and clear photographs in newspapers can fulfil this role. Many migrant workers strongly urged me to publish their pictures in the newspapers without concealment or pixellation”.

Pictures 7, 8 and 9 show rescue scenes. Picture 7 was taken in the hospital, showing many people circling around the injured migrant worker. These included doctors and other people who might be the victim’s friends, colleagues, or families. There was also a cameraman with a camera in the picture, indicating that this man was a TV journalist. Obviously, the injured migrant worker received a great deal of attention from different people in this picture, and it is in a contrast to Picture 5 and Picture 6 taken in 2004, which only showed the injured migrant workers alone. Picture 8 and Picture 9 showed dramatic rescue scenes, with firemen, and other emergency services involved. The rescue process is breathtaking and it contains dramatic elements. These images would attract readers. Also, these rescue scenes may have shown the community spirit and social cohesion, and shown scenes of a harmonious society in China.

7.4.6 The Portrayal of Authorities in the Reports

One obvious finding is that, in 2004, in reporting criminal offences by migrant workers, the work of the local police was frequently highlighted in all four papers,

see Table 7.2. For example, in the July 12 article in the Life Daily, the journalist wrote “the police went there immediately” and “the police hurried there like a galloping horse”; in the Shandong Commercial News June 15 article, the journalist wrote “ (*the police*) went there immediately” and “(*the police*) arrested them shortly”; in the Qilu Evening News June 23 article, the journalist wrote “under strict surveillance”, “set up a special investigation team”, “made decisions immediately” and “found quickly”; in the article of June 25 in the Jinan Times, the journalist wrote “Police officer Che Jianmin never gives up”. This phenomenon was not seen in 2010. Since in both 2004 and 2010, the police were the main source of news of criminals for evening newspapers, this change shows a shift in journalistic practice: from frequently offering compliments to the police in 2004 to simply recognising the police as one of their information providers. It shows that in 2010, the journalists have become more accurate and objective in their reports. It also indicates that the reporting of criminal offences has become less of a propaganda tool for the local police to show off their work, and more of a news item, focused on reporting the facts of the case.

The other organizations were not highlighted in the reports, apart from in the reports with the theme of “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” in the 1990s (in Life Daily, 1998 and Jinan Times, 1996), where the work of hospitals was highlighted.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

In the 1980s and 1990s, many discriminatory words and phrases were frequently used by journalists in the evening newspapers to describe migrant workers. The causes of criminal offences by migrant workers were often simplified as “for money”, and industrial accidents involving migrant workers were usually reported as the result of migrant workers’ carelessness. However, in 2010, the journalists allowed the voice of migrant workers to be heard, included more points of view, and

conducted further investigations to find the underlying reasons in their reports. At the same time, migrant workers received sympathy and concern from the journalists, and a humanistic approach to reporting migrant workers was widely adopted by evening newspapers.

Increasing from few in number to many, pictures have become widely used. In reporting industrial accidents, the main themes of the pictures have changed from showing the faces of the victims to focusing on the rescue scenes. In reporting the criminal offences committed by migrant workers, there was an obvious change from publishing criminals' pictures without any concealment or pixellation to publishing criminal's pictures with concealment and pixellation. The work of the police was frequently highlighted in 2004, but not any more in 2010. Writing about the rescue process became an important theme in 2010. At the same time, from mainly depending on the official news sources, to widely using News Hotlines, journalists obtained more news stories from ordinary people.

The representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers has become more accurate and objective: their images have changed from the biased representation of poorly educated, untrustworthy, greedy and stupid people in the 1980s and 1990s, to human beings who have feelings of anger and self-esteem like others do, and who were socially disadvantaged in 2010. The journalists have become fairer and more critical in reporting stories about migrant workers, and they also dealt carefully with ethical issues about victims and suspects in their reports in 2010.

Chapter 8 The Reasons for Changing Representations

Introduction

In the previous chapters it has been shown that representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers have changed. In this chapter, based on the interview data (Table 4.2, *see appendix*), reports data and the existing literature and theory, the roles of politics, market forces and professionalization of Chinese journalists in shaping reports about migrant workers are explored.

8.1 How Politics Influences Reports about Migrant Workers

In the research hypothesis for this thesis, it was suggested that Chinese evening newspapers changed their attitudes toward migrant workers, because this may be a strategy on the part of the Party to ease rising social unrest (Bigo, 2002: 65). It was also suggested that the local Chinese politicians used reports showing empathy and warmth towards migrant workers to build themselves positive public images (Zhao, 2008: 39).

The findings from interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior managers reveal how the politics of the Party have influenced the way that Chinese evening newspapers report stories about migrant workers: it emerged that under the influence of the Party's directives, there were fewer negative and more positive reports about migrant workers, and also a new type of report - the "changing angles" reports - where issues were reported from positive angles - was created. These reports were an outcome both of the Party's directives and the newspapers' creativity, serving the interests of both. It was also found from the interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior managers that, in recent years, local Chinese politicians used "migrant worker friendly" reports, to build positive public images.

While the two ideas above were being explored, it was also found that the political awareness of journalists - newspapers' self-censorship and the Chief Editors' choices in the degree of self-control - decided the content of evening newspapers and affected how evening newspapers report issues about migrant workers. Besides, interview evidence shows that journalists in the evening newspapers frequently "studied" the Party's directives, and used "playing edge ball" (打擦边球, *da ca bian qiu*, *playing the ball to the very edge of the ping-pong table to score legitimately*) reports as a resistance to the Party's media control, helping to publish some articles about protecting rights (*therefore positive reports*) of migrant workers. These cases imply that the power of the Party's ideology organ, the Propaganda Department, has significantly weakened.

The findings are discussed below.

8.1.1 "Changing Angles" Reports

In the literature review, it was discussed that the Party's Central Propaganda Department (CPD) routinely gives media directives restricting coverage of some topics, such as Tibet, Taiwan or anything that they think is sensitive. Interviewees, journalists Yang Shude, Xiao Weidong and Zhang Jianke, who have worked for the same newspapers for more than 20 years, stated that their newspapers had received more directives in recent years than before, and they thought these directives directly affected their reporting of the issues concerning migrant workers. Since 2002, the Chinese leadership set a goal to build a "Socialist Harmonious Society" (社会主义和谐社会, *she hui zhu yi he xie she hui*), and since then, portraying a harmonious society as being built and enjoyed by all Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has become one of the propaganda themes. Adhering to this theme, ongoing directives have been issued to offer practical guidelines to journalists. These directives state: "Create a favourable climate of public opinion",

“Mass incidents are not allowed to be reported” , “Strictly control the reporting about disasters, accidents and extreme events” and “Reports on the annual Spring Festival migration must be positive” (*as can be seen from interviews with journalists, Huang Gou, Yang Shude, Liu Gechun, Yin Wenhua and Jin Wuwen, who is a senior manager at Life Daily. Pseudonyms were used to represent interviewees’ names here and this also the case for all the following names used*). As pointed out in the literature review, some of these directives already existed previously. It shows that the content of the Party’s propaganda has not greatly changed. The journalists who were interviewed explained how the directives influenced their reports on migrant workers:

“There is a notice board at the entrance to our office, and the directives are put up there. We have to know them. Some issues about migrant workers were forbidden to be reported, for example, we could not report about migrants working as sex workers, because it will have a bad effect on society.” (Yin Wenhua)

“Incidents such as migrant workers gathering together in a rally to ask for their delayed wages are forbidden to be reported, because these are mass incidents. You know you cannot report mass events, so why would you bother to interview and investigate it? It is a waste of time.” (Huang Gou)

“We were told that incidents such as migrant workers climbing up high buildings or tower cranes, and threatening to jump to their deaths in order to ask for their unpaid wages, should be treated cautiously (谨慎, jin shen) , and it was better not to report them.” (Li Fanghua)

“The directives tell you how to report major disasters and accidents. Journalists are required to be cautious (谨慎, jin shen) in reporting these issues, whether they involve migrant workers or not.” (Yang Shude)

Obviously, in recent years, certain issues about migrant workers were censored. This shows that, the commercialized Chinese evening newspapers were still strictly

controlled by the Chinese authorities. However, this does not mean that journalists cannot write anything about these issues. A new type of reports, the “changing angles” (换个角度, *huan ge jiao du*) reports, where issues were reported from positive angles, has been created. These types of reports were accepted, even encouraged by the Chinese authorities. The interviewee, journalist Xu Chuangqiang called this practice “an art”. This was also explained by interviewees, journalists Yang Shude and Cao Libo:

*“Journalists are not allowed to write about incidents involving migrant workers, but they can write about their life stories. The angles used in the reports (报道角度, *bao dao jiao du*) are very important. In recent years, our Party leaders encouraged media to follow the ‘Three Closenesses’ approach in their reports: these ‘Three Closenesses’ are ‘Closeness to reality, closeness to the masses and closeness to real life’ (贴近群众, 贴近生活, *tie jin qun zhong, tie jin sheng huo*). Chinese media were also asked to undertake the movement of “moving at the grass-roots, transitioning work styles and reforming writing styles” (走基层, 转作风, 改文风, *zou ji ceng, zhuan zuo feng, gai wen feng*). So our newspaper grasped the spirits of these directives (把握精神, *ba wo jing shen*) and started a new column, Journalists working at the grass-roots. Journalists followed sanitation workers and construction workers, who are mainly migrant workers, and then wrote their stories.” (Yang Shude)*

“There is an art in choosing the proper angle of the story. It depends on how well the journalists understand government policies, and it comes from journalists’ own experience in dealing with the reporting of sensitive issues. For example, if an industrial accident involving migrant workers happened, we tended not to focus on how many migrant workers died, how many migrant workers were badly injured and the cause of the accident. Instead, we wrote about how quickly the local officials arrived at the accident scene and how busy they were with the rescue. If we did not report from this angle, it would be difficult for us to tell this story.” (Cao Libo)

As a result, there were fewer reports showing a bad image of the city, such as the reports about crimes committed by migrant workers, accidents involving migrant workers and protests by migrant workers; and there were more reports showing a peaceful and harmonious society, such as the reports about sending free drinks and watermelons to migrant workers during hot weather, offering summer holiday camps for the children of migrant workers and giving migrant workers free tickets to the park during the national holidays. This reporting tendency can be confirmed by the selected reports data collected in 2010. These “changing angles” reports are the outcome of the tension between the Party’s directives and newspapers’ creativity, acting as an interface between the interests of both. This shows how a well-functioning system of “manufacturing” consent works. Newspapers do have a limited freedom, the freedom to report positive news when reporting accidents or disasters or not reporting them at all, the choice to focus on reporting the developments in emergency response operations by the government, and the choice to work on human interest angles in reports about rescues. It is evident that some of these topics are what the readers are interested in. These types of reports are used to attract the evening newspapers readers. They are products of evening newspapers whose aim is to sell more copies.

It is also evident that few of the journalists and senior managers who were interviewed for this research related these directives to government strategy or media control, but rather explained the necessity of following Party’s directives for their reports. Most of them claimed that the function of these directives was to create “a favourable public opinion climate” (*Yang Shude*), and to maintain “the image of Jinan” (*Yin Wenhua*). This narrative is obviously following the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, and in some ways, this demonstrates the achievement of the Party’s propaganda. In recent years, the Chinese authorities have changed strategies in dealing with the commercialized Chinese media. In a speech in 2010, Li Changchun, the politburo standing committee member in charge of ideology, and China’s media control tsar, pointed out that the Chinese authorities will provide

“good treatment, good use, and good management” (善待, 善用, 善管, *shan dai, shan yong, and shan guan*) to the media (Zheng, 2010: 327). This speech shows that instead of a tough media control, the Chinese authorities adopted a soft touch approach. It also implies the situation of the commercialized Chinese media: they have more independence and freedom than before, but they are still under the management of the Party, and are used by the Party.

8.1.2 Relationship Between journalists and the Government

In selected data for this thesis from 2010, a main theme in migrant workers reports was “sending warmth” (送温暖, *song wen nuan*) to migrant workers and their children. Example articles include the Qilu Evening News, July 30 (C8 & C9) article “Summer Camp for children of migrant workers”; the Qilu Evening News, July 11 (C4) article “Inviting children of Sanitation workers to have a Summer holiday with us”; the Qilu Evening News, July 16 (A4) article “Children of migrant workers visited science museum”; the Jinan Times, July 16 (A4) article “Welcome to Jinan, little migratory birds”; the Jinan Times July 12 (A12) article “Sending gifts to migrant workers who are working in hot weather”; the Shandong Commercial News, July 15 (A5) article, “Sending watermelons to construction workers”; the Shandong Commercial News, July 13 (C6) article “Children of migrant workers took part in Summer Camp with urban children”. Some of these events were organized by evening newspapers and local authorities, such as Jinan Youth League Committee, Jinan Civil Affairs Bureau, Jinan Construction Bureau. Several interviewees, including journalists Hua Bo and Qu Yun thought these events were mainly “shows” to demonstrate the good image of evening newspapers, companies or local authorities.

“These charity events are mainly political and business events. Officials need some media coverage to show their political achievements, companies use these chari.

Efforts to improve their image, and evening newspapers benefit from these reports too.”(Hua Bo)

“The Youth League Committee, the local Civil Affairs Bureau and the Women’s Federation want the public to know what they have done, so they organized some charity events related to migrant workers with us.”(Dong Fei)

“We worked with the local labour bureau and local construction bureau to help migrant workers asking for delayed wages, to help them get back home for Spring Festival, and to help them look for new jobs.” (Ji Xing)

“Newspapers, local authorities, and businessmen work together to do charity events. It will benefit all of them.”(Jin Wuwen, a senior manager at Life Daily)

“We have organized a lot of charity events with the Jinan Charity Federation, such as raising money for injured children of migrant workers and arranging day trips for migrant workers.”(Jie Xing)

“Our readers like these reports about charity events. For example, last summer, we planned a charity event for migrant workers: we set up a place for migrant workers to sit down and have a free cup of tea under shelter from the hot weather. Thousands of shops volunteered to take part in Jinan. These charity events can help to build a good image for our newspapers. We had this idea first, and local authorities recognized it and worked with us.”(Han Wei, a senior manager at Qilu Evening News)

Further research based on interviews with journalists and newspapers’ senior management staff revealed that in recent years, “governmental journalism” (政府新闻学, *zheng fu xin wen xue*) has become a popular subject among Chinese media scholars. This subject is understood by Chinese scholars as a way to explore the relationship between the Chinese authorities and the Chinese media, to teach the Chinese officials how to work with journalists, in order to build a better political

environment, promote the main social values and build positive government images (Ye, 2009). According to Ye (2006), the concept of “governmental journalism” was first proposed by him in 2006, and since then, has been widely used by media researchers, Chinese journalists and Chinese authorities. Therefore, this could explain why so many of the interviewees saw these charity events as political shows by the government. Apart from being political shows, these charity events offer a win-win solution for all: the newspapers, the businessmen and the officials all benefit from them, and so they are welcomed by all. Local officials were more than happy to be involved in these reported charity events, because these reports showed them in a positive image, contributing to their political achievements. These reports of planned charity events also helped to build positive images for the companies that sponsored the charity work, or the brands of evening newspapers: this will be discussed in later sections.

Nearly all the journalists and newspapers’ senior management staff being interviewed admitted the positive influence of these charity events and charity events reports, and many of them questioned whether these planned charity events reports were real news or not. They also questioned whether they can bring real benefits to migrant workers or not: for example, a former senior manager at Jinan Times Dong Cunki and journalists Hua Bo and Qu Yun:

“I personally think these charity events are very superficial, and they are not real news, but manufactured news. Reporting these charity events should not be the main function of evening newspapers. However, since the other evening newspapers have taken part in these charity events to build their good image, so we have to do the same.” (Dong Cunki, a former senior manager at Jinan Times)

“It is like drawing a picture, migrant workers are the canvas, and people can draw whatever they like on them. But these events cannot change the situation of migrant workers at all.” (Hua Bo)

“It is a show to ‘send warmth’ to migrant workers. The real ‘warmth’ was never given to migrant workers, for example, the minimum living social security system has never been available to migrant workers.” (Qu Yun)

It is obvious that in these actions, migrant workers were used as carriers of the interests of newspapers, the officials, and the businessmen. These charity events did show care to migrant workers, but the fundamental problems that migrant workers were facing were buried and ignored in these happy, positive reports. These superficial charity actions and reports only helped to smooth the social conflict, and helped to contribute to a harmonious society which the Chinese Party had designed.

Data derived from our interviews with journalists also shows that a lot of “bad”, or negative reports, in the eyes of the local officials, were blocked. The local officials insisted that these reports would damage the image of the city; actually they worried that these reports might show their ignorance in performing their duties. Local officials used all sorts of “guanxi” (关系, *relationships*) to block the news that had a potential threat to their political careers. In these cases, the Party’s directives were not involved in the blocking. Here, “guanxi” could be seen as an exchange of interests, and this practice is regarded as corruption, but it has become a well known hidden rule to all the interviewees, such as journalists Huang Gou, Cao Huaguang, Wang Bo, Qin Liubo and Yang Daoyi.

“Guanxi exists everywhere, including within the propaganda system. For example, if a horrible accident happened in some area, the propaganda official from that area will approach the higher up propaganda official who supervises our evening newspapers, and soon our editors will be told to do them a favour, not to publish that news.” (Huang Gou)

“Guanxi stops the spreading of certain news: this is a hidden rule.” (Cao Huaguang)

“In order to keep a good relationship with local government, we have to drop some stories. Our newspapers cannot survive without the support of local government.” (Wang Bo)

“If this local area is better organized, and has no disturbances, it shows that the local officials have done their job well, and it will benefit their promotion.” (Qin Liubo)

“Once we were told that a “Culture Wall” collapsed in one community, and this showed a bad image of that community. Committee officers from that community came to us and asked us not to report it. We had known them for a long time and they had made a lot of contributions to our articles, so we did them a favour and did not mention this incident in our newspaper.” (Yang Daoyi)

The data derived from interviews with journalists and newspapers’ senior management staff, shows that there is a collaborative relationship between journalists and the local authorities; there are appointed correspondents in the local authorities, who received basic training in journalistic writing but remained in their regular posts, to contribute reports, articles, and comments from their own perspective to the evening newspapers. The material they provided would be rewritten by journalists and published with both their names on the articles, and these articles will contribute to the output or workload of both of them. The published articles were mainly aimed at promoting the work of the local authorities. Interviewee, journalist Yin Wenhua emphasized that the correspondents and journalists normally have a good relationship.

“Nearly every bureau appointed certain people to keep in touch with us, and provide news to us. They are called correspondents, information officers, or media communication officers. They always keep a good relationship with us journalists. They will treat us to dinner, give us some gifts, and even envelopes with money. I believe they do the same to our Editors too, so it is difficult not to do them a favour if they ask for one later. (Yin Wenhua)

Therefore, the conclusion could be drawn that the pursuit of good images for the benefit of the local authorities and the good relationship between journalists and correspondents have led to fewer “bad” news reports about industry accidents involving migrant workers and crimes committed by migrant workers. Instead, reports with the theme of “sending warmth” to migrant workers and their children have increased.

It is common knowledge that in the West, government officials often rely on the media to help them to communicate with the public and to build support, and the officials and the media often have an adversarial relationship: officials wish to control the content of the media, while the media do not wish to be seen as poodles of the officials. However, it seems that most journalists and newspapers’ senior management staff who were interviewed for this research approved of the current close relationship between the local authorities and themselves, and that they also benefit from it.

8.1.3 The Political Awareness of Journalists

Some abstract and vague terms, such as “cautious” (谨慎, *jin shen*), “grasp moderation” (掌握分寸, *zhang wo fen cun*), and “correct angles” (正确的角度, *zheng que de jiao du*) were frequently used by the interviewed journalists. This indicates that in most cases, the journalists were not told clearly and directly what could be reported and what could not. Instead, the decisions were made by themselves and gate-keeping (把关, *ba guan*) was done by their Chief Editors. They have to make their own judgements, and publish stories which are predictably acceptable to the propaganda officials. This also means that certain topics have to be avoided even without the Party’s directives. This process is called self-censorship. The ability to make a judgement on what can be written and what cannot be written was explained as “political awareness” (政治觉悟, *zheng zhi jue wu*) by the

interviewed journalists. Most of them held the opinion that the newspapers should “benefit the society”, and publish stories that “benefit the people”. However, the kinds of reports that can “benefit the society” and “benefit the people” have been decided by the Party, since the “political awareness” of journalists was developed through journalism education and professional training which has been vetted by the Party. One of the interviewed journalists showed me a text book, “The Work of Publishing” published by the Press and Publication Bureau of Shandong in 2010: this book was used for an examination; only once he had passed could the journalist apply for a government-issued press card in order to legally practice his profession. This licensing scheme started in June, 2003, and it includes education in both professional ethics education and in political awareness. It seemed that most of the interviewed journalists accepted this “political awareness” and approved of “self-censorship”. Interviewees, Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News, Lin Shuhua, who is also a senior manager at Shandong Commercial news and journalists Ruan Qingle, Yang Daoyi, Dongzhen and Xiao Weidong explained why they thought newspapers should conceal some information from the public.

“Some news will cause a public panic, so as journalists, we have to make good judgments (好好把握, hao hao ba wo) . For example, if a food safety incident occurred in another city, insisting on finding similar stories in Jinan could have caused a bad social impact. We must also consider our own positions (立场, li chan) .” (Ruan Qingle)

“We should send limited information to the public, because some figures are so shocking, that if we publish them, it will cause fear and panic, especially the reports of plagues and earthquakes. You cannot report at your will. This is why we must be disciplined. ” (Yang Daoyi)

“Sometimes, media coverage can cause a public panic. Chinese people turn to blindly following without critically thinking. It is the responsibility of media to lead public opinion.” (Lin Shuhua, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

“Recently, a knife-wielding man injured some children on a rampage through a kids garden in a town near Jinan. We decided not to publish this story, because some criminals may copy these attacks. I personally think that the media should have better gate keeping, to avoid the issues that may cause bad social effects.” (Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

“We used to publish a lot of sensational reports, but now we try to publish rational reports (理智报道, li zhi bao dao) . The journalists were not mature (成熟, cheng shu) before, they did not care about the negative impact (负面影响, fu mian ying xiang) of the reports. The media should be responsible to the society, and not pursue sensational news.” (Zhang Dong)

“We will publish decent (高格调, gao ge diao) news; we will not cater to low taste.” (Xiao Weidong)

Pursuing “decent news” and “rational news”, not catering to “low taste”, not publishing “sensational reports”, not causing “social panic”, and avoiding “bad social impacts” were seen by the interviewees as excuses for their self-censorship. Few of the interviewees related this self-censorship to the Party’s political intentions. Here, the term “mature” was actually used to describe the journalists who had known the Party’s intentions well, and who could make the right decision on what kind of articles could be published. Nearly all of the interviewees think that journalists should be disciplined, and even disciplined by the Party, in this case. It seems that Chinese journalists believed that by not reporting “bad” news, they can help to create a good society. They believed this to be so and accepted it as their professional responsibility. By being complicit in the Party’s censorship and the monitoring of a peaceful society, Chinese journalists remain tools of the Communist Party.

Senior management staff, especially their Chief Editors of the evening newspapers appeared to be the main gate keepers, and they decided the degree of self-censorship in their newspapers. Some editors were braver, and dared to take risks to publish

stories ignoring the Party's will, while others were more conservative. Data derived from interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior management staff revealed that the style and content of evening newspapers were branded with the Chief Editors' personalities. This can explain the differences among the four evening newspapers in reporting issues about migrant workers.

"We follow 100 percent of the Party's directives. As the senior managers of this newspaper, we have to think about the whole picture. If we make a political mistake, the newspaper will be closed down." (Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

"If the Provincial Propaganda Department has issued a directive asking you not to run a certain story, but the Chief Editor still decides to run it, then the Chief Editor is going against the rules. If it is a big political mistake, the Chief Editor may be removed from his position. This has happened a lot to our Chief Editor, but luckily, he hasn't been fired yet. However, he has written a lot of self-confession letters to the Propaganda Department. To survive in this fiercely competitive market, we cannot publish harmonious stories all the time. Our Chief Editor does not think of himself, but the development of our newspaper. " (Qin Liubo)

"One of our editors has a lot of news ideals (新闻理想, xin wen li xiang) . He has supported many important but politically sensitive reports. Sometime, if it is too dangerous for the newspaper to run a certain story now, he will still ask the journalists to follow the story, and he will try to run this story at another time." (Cao Yundi)

"Our former Chief Editor XXX is a legend in the industry of evening newspapers in Jinan. He has never been scared of losing his job, and under his leadership, the Jinan Times had the bravery to run a lot of sensitive stories. However, XXX bore all the pressures from the Propaganda officials himself, and he even did not tell us until he retired. " (Wu Qiong)

“I know it is a risk for my own career and promotion, but I don’t care. A famous saying by a provincial official, who was in charge of newspapers, is ‘If you don’t change your ideas, we will change you.’ (不换思想就换人, hu huan si xiang jiu huan ren) It refers to me. When I was a senior manager at of Jinan Times, one of my main jobs that never stopped was writing self-confession letters and apologies to different Party officials.” (Dong Cunqi, a former senior manager at Jinan Times)

Appointed by the Party, the newspapers’ senior management staff, especially the Chief Editors are the gate-keepers of the evening newspapers, and they should follow the Party’s directives without any hesitation. However, in reality, from the interviews quoted above, it can be seen that the Party’s directives were not always followed by Chief Editors. This is mainly because of the commercial pressures that evening newspapers faced, and the Chief Editor’s own understanding of his profession. In order to sell more copies, the evening newspapers need good quality reports, and they need to report the truth, and the “bad” news. Normally, the censored news is “bad” news which the Party does not want the public to know. Thus, conflict arose between the Propaganda department and the evening newspapers. Some Chief Editors took risks to publish some “sensitive” articles, because they believe this is what a better newspaper should do. One conclusion that could be drawn here is that both the self-censorship of evening newspapers and the choices of the Chief Editors in the degree of self-control decided the content of evening newspapers and affected how evening newspapers report issues about migrant workers.

8.1.4 The “Weakening” of Media Control

It was evident in the interviews that the Party’s propaganda department (宣传部, *xuan chuan Bu*) was nicknamed “Xuan xuan” (宣宣) by most journalists, which sounds like a pet name for a girl. The senior management staff at these four evening newspapers who were interviewed all admitted using this term. This term is one of

the outcomes of the sensitive-word internet filter of Chinese government: journalists use “Xuan xuan” to avoid the sensitive term “Xuan chuan Bu”. This term of endearment has been widely used on the popular online messaging service QQ, and on Twitter and Sina Weibo in China. Though it may have been expressed in language borrowed from the internet, it implies that the journalists are not afraid of the Party organ which supervises them. Both Jin Wuwen, a senior manager at Life Daily and journalist Cao Huaguang explained that “it is a joke”. Moreover, most senior management staff and journalists think that the propaganda department is not now so important in running a commercialized newspaper whose first need is the business of selling.

“We are joking when we call them Xuan xuan. I have never seen people from Xuan xuan, and I only see the directives issued by Xuan xuan hanging at the entrance of our office. Apart from Xuan xuan, there are a lot of reasons that may cause articles to be unpublished: the quality of the article is not good, the article is about a horrible crime or accident, or guanxi kills the article. ”(Cao Huaguang)

“It shows our friendliness to call them Xuan xuan, and it is only a joke. In fact, there are many factors affecting the growth of evening newspapers, and the Propaganda department is only one of them. It is not the most important one. I think our readers have little interest in this. ” (Jin Wuwen, a senior manager at Life Daily)

The words of junior journalist Cao Huaguang reveal that for her, and journalists like her, the propaganda department is “mysterious”: the Party’s propaganda officials only deal with their Chief Editors. After explaining that this name was a joke, Jin Wuwen, a senior manager at Life Daily emphasized this term of endearment showed their friendliness. It indicates that by being a communicator between the propaganda department and his journalists, he is trying to ease the tension between the two groups. As a senior manager at Life Daily, Jin Wuwen and the other management staff like him are in an odd position: they have to be responsible for both the propaganda department and the journalists, and must satisfy both.

Interviewed journalists and newspapers' senior management staff recounted that they study the Party's directives, write and publish some news by using the strategy of "playing edge ball" (打擦边球, *da can bian qiu*, *playing the ball to the very edge of the ping-pong table to score legitimately*). Journalist Cao Yundi, Zhang Dong and Lin Shuhua, who is a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News, gave examples of "playing edge ball" reports. Sunhua and Zhu Huali explained how to use this strategy in reporting on migrant workers.

"It is not that we don't listen to the Propaganda department, but we have to study their words. For example, if they said '...forbidden to report that accident', then we don't write a report on that accident, but we can publish comments. This is the 'playing edge balls' strategy." (Cao Yundi)

"Journalists can still fight and break through. For example, if we could not report the drain oil scandals, we can encourage our readers to tell their experiences of drain oil through News Hotlines, and then publish their stories in our newspapers. The Party's directives did not ask us not to do this." (Zhang Dong)

"We encourage our journalists to investigate, interview and write about the important events. As long as it is a good article, the journalist will get paid for the piece. If we cannot publish it now, we may publish it in the future." (Lin Shuhua, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

"We could not report mass protests involving migrant workers, so we reported how to protect the rights of migrant workers. As background, we mentioned these protests. We will not get in trouble this way. This is our way to break through." (Hua Bo)

"From the Party's directives, migrant workers asking for delayed wages is a sensitive subject to report, and we had better not annoy the Propaganda department. However, we can write about the life story of an individual migrant worker to show this social problem." (Zhu Huali)

Clearly, newspapers' senior management staff and journalists play a cat-and-mouse game with the Propaganda department. This supports the idea that journalists in the evening newspapers have become more professional. Other interview evidence shows that the Party's directives have been frequently and carefully "studied" in the everyday practices of journalists. By not openly challenging the legitimacy of the Party, but using a wide range of tactics to walk the line, it could be understood as "an art of resistance" Scott (1990). We can also say that, in this process, the power of the Propaganda department is significantly weakened.

Nearly all the journalists and newspapers' senior management staff who were interviewed for this research thought the current media environment was better than before as they mentioned above. However, a lot of journalists who have worked as journalists for 20 years, such as journalists Xiao Weidong, Zhang Dong and Cheng Yinde, expressed that they felt there were many more directives given to them than before.

"When Qilu Evening News was founded, there were not so many directives from the propaganda department. But now there are so many." (Xiao Weidong)

"I think that we didn't have so many restrictions before, but now there are so many directives." (Zhang Dong)

"There are more directives than before. It may be because newspapers journalists have become much more professional, and they have started to question and challenge the government. It is normal for us to feel the control." (Cheng Yinde)

One explanation could be that when evening newspapers were newly founded 20 or 30 years ago, the Chinese Party had no experience in controlling them. The evening newspapers could report whatever they wanted. It seems that there were no regulations to stop journalists on evening newspapers from reporting news which could have a bad social impact. Related to this research, these reports could be on prostitution involving migrant workers and murders committed by migrant workers.

Negative reports of migrant workers can be easily found in the early data, but not in the recent data from 2004 and 2010. It shows that these subjects were not forbidden to be reported then, but are seen as sensitive subjects now. This partly explains the findings in this thesis: compared to the early reports, there were fewer stories showing negative images of migrant workers in recent years.

8.2 How Market Forces Influence Reports about Migrant Workers

Guided by the research hypothesis on how market forces influence reports about migrant workers, quantities related data derived from interviews were conducted and the findings and discussion of these data were organized into four meaningful categories: the practice of protecting advertising clients led to fewer negative reports about migrant workers; the charity events aimed at helping migrant workers were flourishing because of the branding strategies of evening newspapers and there were more human interest reports about migrant workers published to attract readers; the profits brought in by classified advertising aimed at migrant workers encouraged evening newspapers to be friendly towards them; and the homogenized competition caused local evening newspapers to have similar sympathetic attitudes towards migrant workers.

The findings are discussed below:

8.2.1 Protecting Advertising Clients

One finding that arose from data derived from interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior management staff and advertising staff is that in order to keep advertising clients happy, the evening newspapers had to block any reports that may damage the reputation of their clients.

“They have paid several million Yuan for advertisements in your newspaper, but if you report negative news about them, they would get angry and stop paying the money. This would be horrible. We have to be very careful with property developers. Especially when new properties are burnt down, we had to check with our advertising department, whether the property developer was our client or not.” (Huang Gou)

“We have never reported any negative news about our major advertising clients, such as Wanda Group. News like an industrial accident happening at a Wanda construction site would be blocked.” (Liu Gechun)

“If a protest involving migrant workers happens at a property site, which is owned by one of our advertising clients, we will not mention their name. We will refer to it as some property site in South Jinan, or we had better ignore this report.” (Pang De)

“For the sake of the survival of our newspapers, we have to drop the stories that may annoy our advertising clients. The advertising income goes toward our salaries.” (Qin Liubo)

“We have long term cooperation with our advertising clients, and we have common interests.” (Chang Qingchun, a senior advertising manager at Shandong Commercial News)

“We try to keep our advertising clients out of trouble.” (Lin Shuhua, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

“Our advertising clients are Number 1 and we have to protect them. We try not to publish any article that will be bad for them. The news editor has to communicate with the advertising department regularly to check whether the companies mentioned

in the articles are our clients or not.” (Huang Feihong, a senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News)

The interview data above show that, driven by money, in most cases, the evening newspapers had to ensure that their clients were not mentioned in any negative news. Further, negative news for their clients could be the exposure of defects in the houses they were building, complaints from their customers, or industrial accidents happening at their workplaces. Thus, construction site accidents involving migrant workers or issues around delayed wages of migrant workers were rarely reported because of the interests of property developers. Almost all the journalists interviewed accepted this hidden rule, and took it for granted that it was a normal practice for newspapers to protect their advertising clients, and they rarely related it to corruption. In addition, in all four evening newspapers, the news departments and advertising departments work closely together to block news that may annoy their major clients. The names of major clients were listed and sent to journalists, and people from advertising departments attend editorial meetings everyday to ensure nothing bad about their clients will be reported. Hua Bo, an investigative journalist from the Jinan Times pointed to a list on the wall in his office and told me that was their “red list” and they were asked not to report bad news about companies appearing on it. Evening newspapers also used the threat of negative reports, like thumbscrews, to get more advertising clients. Hua Bo explained that if the not-on-the-list clients did not want them to report bad news about them, they had to place advertisements in their newspapers. This action was not called a “threat” by the journalists, but rather “negotiation”. Driven by the need for more income, some journalists even took the initiative and looked for advertising clients as well as writing news stories. Wu Qiong, a senior manager from the Jinan Times explained that they had neither encouraged nor forbidden their journalists from getting new advertising clients for their newspapers, and it was a normal practice for them to make more money.

The behaviour of evening newspapers and their journalists, who put making money as their primary concern is perhaps understandable in the context of a changing China with its “emphasis on material values” or “egotistical materialism”. Following the announcement of Deng Xiaoping “let some of the people become prosperous first” in the 1980s, economic reforms and social transformation have swept through China. Money has been seen as a sign of success and making money has become a major concern for most Chinese. The worship of money drove some people to seek riches quickly - “a fast buck” - quick and easy money - and it also led to widespread corruption. In contemporary China, it is well known that many officials use their positions to extort bribes; even China’s own leaders admitted that corruption had become one of the major problems that restrict China’s social and economic development (Hu, 2012). It seems that some journalists followed the same development path. Both “payment for news” or “payment for no news” are clearly seen as corruption in China. The revised Chinese Journalistic Ethics Code issued on November 9, 2009 stated: “Journalists should be against any form of ‘payment for news’ or ‘payment for no news’, and they should not use their profession to seek improper benefits, they should not use reports to settle personal scores, and they should not ask for or accept the money or gifts from interviewees. They should not request anything from their interviewees except for the interview” (Li, 2011: 388). Zheng (2010: 256) pointed out “Both ‘payment for news’ and ‘payment for no news’ are examples of serious professional corruption. Journalists should avoid the temptations of money and fame.” Luo (2010:102) also highlighted that “red envelope” journalism, paid news and news obtained as a form of “guanxi” are forms of corruption. However, in reality, this kind of corruption are considered an acceptable, even normal, stream of income or benefits for the people interviewed for this research.

Interview data collected from journalists show that most of them thought that the first objective of evening newspapers was to maximize their profits. The newspapers catered to the needs of clients, even at the cost of lowering the quality of the news.

Most journalists knew this situation, accepted it, and were even involved in it. In some evening newspapers, instead of writing good articles, journalists were keen on to secure more advertising clients, because the reward policy of evening newspapers encouraged them to do so. Several journalists expressed the view that they had to make news that reflected the concerns of their clients. The boundary between news and advertisements was deliberately blurred during this practice by journalists motivated by money.

“We follow the rule of money, no longer the rule of news: money talks. Money can make you kill a story, and it can also make you plant a story.” (Huang Feihong, a senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News)

“We have to look out for our own clients, design some events for them, bargain with them, and write news about them.” (Ai Feifei, senior adverting manager)

“Journalists are encouraged to look for new advertising clients, and they can benefit from these deals too. They have reported a lot of news about different factories and companies, and this gives them an advantage when it comes to winning the clients.”(Xie Ning, senior marketing manager)

“We will publish a list of the top 10 entrepreneur leaders in Jinan every year, and most of the time, this list will favour our big clients. It is more like a promotion than a real poll. ”(Chang Qingchun,a senior advertising manager at Shandong Commercial News)

There were some interviewees who thought these corrupt practices could damage the content and moral values of newspapers, such as journalists, Dong Fei, Lie Jie, Lin Shuhua, who is a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News, and Qiao Ligang, who is a senior manager at Jinan Times. They voiced their concerns, but they could not do anything about it.

“I also want to work in an ideal media environment, but we don’t have it. I don’t like so many false or exaggerated medical advertisements in our newspaper, but we have no choice.” (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“There was a gap between what you are going after and what you encounter in reality.” (Dong Fei)

“The advertising clients want evening newspapers to publish soft advertisements (软广告, ruan guang gao) for them, not hard advertisements (硬广告, ying guang gao). These soft advertisements are not news at all. We have to publish some of them, for the survival of our newspaper.” (Lin Shuhua, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

“We have to survive first. We cannot expose the problems of our clients.” (Jin Lan)

However, payments from clients were scarcely thinkable when evening newspapers had just been founded. Senior advertising manager Huang Feihong, who has worked for Qilu Evening News since it was founded, recalled that it was not like this before: when evening newspapers were founded in the 1980s and 1990s, they received most funding from the government, and they did not have so many advertising clients then. Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, the government stopped giving subsidies to the evening newspapers, and they were expected to survive by commercial advertising. Under government monitoring, the Chinese evening newspapers encountered many restrictions, and there were many sensitive issues they could not report. They could not develop in the way tabloid newspapers have in the West. In order to gain advertising, and to avoid troubling the local government, the quick and easy way was to stand side-by-side with their advertising clients, by not printing bad news about them. This tendency to not publish bad news was not only used when seeking advertising clients, but was also used to limit any trouble with their local

government. Thus, there were fewer bad news articles published in the newspapers. It is difficult to find out how many of these kinds of reports were blocked by this hidden rule. As a result, there have been fewer negative reports about migrant workers in recent years.

8.2.2 Branding Strategies and Strategies for Attracting Readers

After analysing the interview data from journalists, newspapers' management staff and marketing staff, it was apparent that the “brand of newspapers” (报纸的品牌, *bao zhi de pin pai*) , “the influence of the newspaper” (报纸的影响力, *bao zhi de ying xiang li*) “the image of the newspaper” (报纸的形象, *bao zhi de xing xiang*) and “the personality of the newspaper” (报纸的个性, *bao zhi de ge xing*) were frequently mentioned by these interviewees. Also in the selected data from 2010, there were more positive reports about migrant workers, and these reports can be divided into three types: reports about charity events aimed at helping migrant workers and their children, reports about helping migrant workers to solve their problems, and human interest stories about individual migrant workers. The interview data show that, besides the political needs discussed in the above section, it was also a branding strategy for evening newspapers to publish these types of reports, in order to attract more readers, and survive the competition. These changes were the outcome of market forces. This will be explained below from the perspectives of reports on charity events, reports on solving problems and stories of individual migrant workers.

8.2.2.1 Reports on Charity Events

“Migrant workers and their children are vulnerable social groups. We show them kindness. A lot of people sympathize with the weak, and they like these kinds of events.” (Qin Liubo)

“Recently, we invited 500 migrant workers to visit Jinan botanical gardens for free. It is part of our brand building process.” (Guo Shuren)

“We want our readers to know that our newspapers have a warm heart.” (Jie Xing)

“We need these charity events to show that the newspapers care about the vulnerable social groups.” (Hua Bo)

“These activities have no direct connection with the news reports of our journalists. The aim of running them is to show a charitable image of our newspaper.” (Han Wei, a senior manager at Qilu Evening News)

“In recent years, we organized Spring City volunteers, and they have done a lot of charitable things for migrant workers. Although these things are not newsworthy in themselves, they have increased the influence of our newspaper.” (Ke Qiang)

“Our editorial committee decided what kind of charity events we should organize. These charity events help build the brand of our evening newspaper.” (Jin Wuwen, a senior manager at Life Daily)

“Charity events are not news. Newspapers enjoy doing these events because they can bring the readers and newspaper closer. It is brand building.” (Cheng Yinde)

The above data from the interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior management staff, combined with data from selected newspapers reports in 2010, shows that all four evening newspapers in Jinan have organized numbers of different or similar charity events aimed at migrant workers in recent years. These booming charity events organized by the evening newspapers, which were called "giving warmth" activities ("送温暖"活动, "*song wen nuan*" *huo dong*) not only showed the positive images of local politicians who took part in these events, but also helped to build positive images for evening newspapers, creating emotional connections between the newspapers and the readers. The interview data show that the strategy of building charitable images (公益形象, *gong yi xing xiang*) of evening newspapers was widely approved by journalists. Thinking about the brand of evening newspapers shows that journalists see their newspaper as a product, and the readers are seen as their customers. In order to sell more of the product, building their brand and getting people to know their brand are key objectives for their marketing campaign. The charity events are tools and techniques that can help evening newspapers build a better brand and achieve better brand recognition.

However, these charity events should have been held by NGOs, who in the developing countries normally provide essential services that in developed countries would be provided by governmental institutions, and who are also the source of social justice to the marginalised members of society. However, it may be that the Chinese government is afraid that rapid development of NGOs might bring about social forces that are difficult to control, so it maintains strict control over these NGOs. NGOs are at an under-developed stage in China. There are many actions missing and undone between the government and the socially vulnerable people. Finding that this was a good marketing opportunity, the evening newspapers embarked on these charity activities directed towards meeting the needs of migrant workers.

A new term was even used to describe these charity events, “planning of news” (新闻策划, *xin wen ce hua*) : newspapers designed and organized some activities or events, to be reported on later by the newspaper. There are different definitions of “planning of news”; from Wu (2007: 205), this term was first used in 1995 by Chinese media scholars, meaning both “planning of news events” (新闻事件策划, *xin wen shi jian ce hua*) and “planning of news reports” (新闻报道策划, *xin wen bao dao ce hua*) . The planning of charity events news was explained by Wu (2007: 220): in the process of communication, media use their own sources to organize some charity events and report them. Some journalists argued that these planned events should not be seen as news. Whether news or not, these events were all reported by the evening newspapers. In Chinese Evening Studies (Chinese Evening Newspaper Association, 2001: 182), the motivation of the “planning of news” was said to be to carry forward the main theme (*the Party’s theme*) determined by China’s political system, fulfilling the media’s role as propaganda vehicles for the Chinese Communist Party. These charity events and reports giving love and care to migrant workers, portray a “harmonious” society, which was the Chinese Communist Party’s aim (Xinhua News Agency, 2006). A conclusion can be drawn that these planned charity events are an outcome of both the commercialization of newspapers and the Party’s political resolution.

8.2.2.2 “Problem Solving” Reports

Interview data collected from journalists show that in recent years, evening newspapers made an effort to help migrant workers solve their problems, such as helping them to look for new jobs in the city, and finding volunteer lawyers to help migrant workers claim their unpaid wages.

“Our newspaper helped to solve some of the problems of migrant workers. Sometimes, we were used as a threat by migrant workers to their immoral employer who did not pay their wages on time. After a negotiation between the employer and migrant workers, we were asked not to report the problem, and the employers promised to solve the problem quickly.” (Qin Liubo)

“We set up a special column to report the stories of people who need help and encourage our readers to help them.” (Jie Xing)

“The ultimate goal of reporting their problem is to help them solve the problem. The process serves as a bridge between the newspapers and the readers.” (Yuan Liming)

By protecting and upholding the rights of migrant workers and speaking up for them, the evening newspapers seem to have a role of advocacy in society. Similarly to running charity events for migrant workers, these activities helped to build newspapers brands, that is newspapers who could advocate social justice. Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper in Chengdu was the earliest evening newspaper which helped migrant workers. Wu (2007: 233) wrote that, on March 8, 1996, Huaxi Metropolitan Newspapers received a call saying that a female migrant worker had been kidnapped and forced to become a prostitute. Huaxi Metropolitan Newspapers worked with the local police, and sent their journalists to take part in the rescue process. In eight days, it published 25 articles and 10 pictures about this story. Wu (2007: 233) concluded that the good deeds brought fame to newspapers, and it would be undoubtedly logical, that they would help to win more readers and more advertising clients for the newspapers. These actions were clearly seen by newspapers as a public relations strategy (Wu, 2007: 232). Thus, the following conclusion can be drawn: driven by market forces, the evening newspapers in Jinan widely adopted the strategy of helping migrant workers solve problems to improve the newspapers popularity in the market, and to gain recognition from their potential readers.

It is also clear that these “solving problem reports” related to the media propaganda discourse advanced by the Chinese Communist Party. In 2004, Xu Guangchun, the director of State Administration for Radio, Film and TV, gave full support to “journalism for the livelihoods of people” (民生新闻, *min sheng xin wen*), which aimed in part to help citizens to solve their problems (Wu, 2007: 68). The concept of “journalism for the livelihoods of people” was advocated by a TV program called “Nan Jing Zero Distance” (南京零距离, *Nan Jing Ling Ju Li*), which first aired in January, 2002 (Wu, 2007: 67), and was then widely accepted by the other media (Zhang, 2010:185). It is quite possible that due to the Party’s support, reports on solving problem became popular.

Nearly all the journalists who were interviewed for this research thought that helping migrant workers to solve problems was one of the social responsibilities of their newspapers, and some of them thought this function was extremely important, even more important than reporting the news. This shows that the journalists in the evening newspapers were trying to look for meaning in their jobs: the unique power of media has provided opportunities for them to help others, and it has brought them satisfaction. However, most journalists related “solving problems reports” with a commercial purpose. Such quotes, like “Our readers will be more loyal to us”, “We will have more readers” and “We will become more influential” imply that the journalists in the evening newspapers were concerned more by how to satisfy their own interests, and make profit rather than by solving problems of migrant workers.

Some senior management staff at the evening newspapers, like Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times, and Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News, were very frank about the real motivation behind these friendly and kind actions towards migrant workers. Both of them thought newspapers were like human beings, emphasizing the personality of newspapers. This description indicates further branding strategies of evening newspapers: bringing to life the emotional side of the

brand; thus the newspapers will have personalities, and will have emotional attachments with their readers.

“We are reporting the true, the good and the beautiful (真善美, zhen shan mei) ; this is the news with vitality. Newspapers are like people. People have their own personalities, and so does the newspaper. People will help others, and so does the newspaper”. (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“Every newspaper is like a person, and he has to have his own ethos and spirits. This is also the brand of this newspaper. We helped people to solve their problems, and this behaviour won the trust of our readers. ” (Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

However, some senior management staff and journalists questioned whether these “charity events” or “solving problems reports” are jobs for journalists or not, like journalist Cheng Yinde and Dong Cunqi, who is a former senior manager at Jinan Times.

“If evening newspapers spend too much effort doing these activities, and cover them too often, it will be against the news regulations (新闻规律, xin wen gui lv) ”. (Cheng Yinde)

“The evening newspapers have nothing new to compete with each other, and they can only use these stunts to attract readers. But they are not real news.” (Dong Cunqi, a former senior manager at Jinan Times)

This concern shows that, the commercialized newspapers in China developed differently from most commercialized newspapers in the West. They are like neither the tabloids, nor the broadsheets, but they are economically independent newspapers with their own unique news product.

After all, with so many restrictions on their content, the commercialized Chinese evening newspapers have had to find a new product which could meet both the Party's political expectations and their own business interests. The planned charity event reports and solving problem reports could satisfy both. Consequently, there were more positive reports about migrant workers in 2010 because of these reporting tendencies.

8.2.2.3 Stories about Individual Migrant Worker

Using selected data from 2010, it can be seen that stories of individual migrant worker were frequently reported. These reports showed positive images of migrant workers; either they are clever, or they work hard. For example, a Jinan Times, July 18 (page 6) article titled, "23 year old migrant worker brother was so cool, that he was selling noodles by reading poetry"; a Jinan Times, July 18 (A7) article, "A migrant worker has kept on writing reversed Chinese calligraphy for 30 years", and a Life Daily, July 14 (B6) article, "There is a buns beauty (包子西施, *bao zi xi shi*, *a pretty girl who is selling filled steamed buns*) in Jinan". All of these articles are long features with pictures.

The interviewed journalists recounted that not only stories of migrant workers, but other stories of ordinary people were reported by evening newspapers. These reports can be seen as "Vox Pop": the voice of the people, and they are also human interest stories. Different from hard factual news, these articles covered the struggles or experience of individuals in depth, with the goal of engaging the readers emotionally. These reports are both moving and entertaining. This trend could be called "personalization". Because of the emotional bond between the article and the readers of newspapers, a personal story can easily attract the attention of readers. Journalists Yang Daoyi and Zhu Huali, who have written these human interest stories, explained:

“Our newspapers have become closer and closer to ordinary people (亲民, qin min) , and care more about these nobodies (小人物, xiao ren wu) . We report not only the news around our leaders, but also what our readers are interested in reading. All the evening newspapers are following this style, and I think this is the trend.” (Yang Daoyi)

“I am mainly writing stories about the small guy, writing about the touching part of their personalities. We were also encouraged to use lively, but simple language to tell their stories. Sometimes, we use their language to write the news, and the aim of this is to be close to the ordinary people (贴近老百姓, tie jin lao bai xing) . This is the broad environment. The other evening newspapers care about ordinary people, and so do we. Otherwise, we would be eliminated from the competition.” (Zhu Huali)

The explanation above indicates that the trend of reporting personalized human interest stories is an outcome of media competition. In order to gain more readers and sell more copies, all the evening newspapers adopted this style of writing. The shift had been towards adding the “brand value” (品牌价值, pin pai jia zhi) to newspapers. It was part of branding strategies. Actually, the idea of “telling the stories of ordinary people” was first proposed by Li Datong, a Chinese journalist and former editor of Freezing Point (冰点, bing dian) , a weekly supplement of the China Youth Daily in 1995 (Shi, 2011: 247). It is obvious that this reporting style has been widely accepted and used by Chinese evening newspapers in recent years. However, some journalists who were interviewed for this research argued that this focus was from their own will, and motivated by their conscience and professional duties. This might be true: Chinese journalists were taught and encouraged to write the stories of ordinary people by media researchers or their bosses. It is not difficult to find this “advice” in any Chinese media text book, such as using “civilian style” (市民体, shi min ti) and writing from the perspective of civilians (Shi,

2011:10), caring about the ordinary people (Shi, 2011: 247), reporting the stories of the small guy (Wu, 2007:84), and writing human interest stories (Liu & Zhang, 2004: 64). It is interesting to find that this “advice” also fits into the ideology of the Chinese Party, a reflection of the “mass-line” method (see Chapter 3.3.1.2), which means everything for the masses, reliance on the masses in everything, and “from the masses, to the masses” (Rene, 2013: 16). In July 2011, a movement set out by the Central Propaganda Department of “Moving at the grassroots, transitioning work styles, and reforming writing styles” (走基层, 转作风, 改文风, *zou jiceng, zhuan zuofeng, gai wenfeng*), that aims to place greater emphasis on being in touch with the people, gave further approval to these “close to ordinary people” reports.

Briefly, reporting stories of individual ordinary people benefits everyone. It helps to build the brand of newspapers, attract more readers, bring professional satisfaction to journalists, and it also serves the Party’s propaganda goal.

8.2.3 Classified Advertising Aimed at Migrant Workers

In the research hypothesis, it was suggested that, driven by market forces, seeking classified advertising aimed at migrant workers, Chinese evening newspapers have become more friendly to migrant workers, and this could explain why there has been more positive news about them published in the evening newspapers in recent years. The interview data show that the flourishing classified advertising aimed at migrant workers did bring in more income to evening newspapers recently, and evening newspapers had a closer relationship with migrant workers. Almost all of the journalists and advertising staff who were interviewed noticed the rapid growth of classified advertising during the last 10 years, e.g. journalists Lei Weixun, Huang Feihong, who is a senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News and Feng Huaqiao, who is a senior advertising manager at Shandong Commercial News.

“We only had 2 or 3 pages of classified advertisements 10 years ago, but now we have 10 pages.” (Li Weixun)

“Qilu Evening News has included classified advertisements since 1995. We originally thought that they were small advertisements and would barely bring in any money. Soon we realized that if you added up all the income of classified advertisements together that would be a lot of money.” (Huang Feihong, a senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News)

“In 2001, there was only one person working on the Shandong Commercial News classified advertisements section, but now, there are 55 people in this department. Currently, we have 12 to 13 pages of classified advertisements every day. Classified advertisements contribute 15% of all advertising revenue of our newspapers. The classified advertisements include recruitment information for domestic workers, decorating companies and furniture removals companies.” (Feng Huaqiao, a senior advertising manager at Shandong Commercial News)

The interview data collected from advertising staff show that the evening newspapers managers realized the importance of classified advertisements, and made efforts to enlarge this section. In return, classified advertising brought more income for evening newspapers. Classified advertisements attracted a lot of migrant workers readers, and thus, migrant workers became important readers of these newspapers. Some of the interviewees, like Huang Feihong, senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News and Dong Deyi, senior manager at Shandong Commercial News argued that the changing life style of migrant workers also led more migrant workers to read evening newspapers.

“Migrant workers of today are different from the generation of their fathers. They are better educated. They enjoy reading newspapers, and they hope to settle in the

city. They look for jobs and find property to rent through newspapers. So, migrant workers are important readers of evening newspapers.” (Huang Feihong, a senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News)

“Some migrant workers earn higher salaries than us journalists. The first generation migrant workers needed care, but the second generation migrant workers need recognition. They also have strong consumer power. They read newspapers. They see advertisements in the newspapers and decide what to buy.” (Dong Deyi, senior manager at Shandong Commercial News)

The consumer power of migrant workers is difficult to measure, but the increasing classified advertising aimed at migrant workers implies an increasing number of readers who are migrant workers, since no company would continue to place advertisements if there were no readers. The idea that commercialized evening newspapers reflected the concerns of their readers was widely accepted by the interviewees who frequently stated that their newspapers readers were mainly local residents, but it was difficult to tell who exactly these readers were and how they had changed over the years, because none of the four evening newspapers had specified them. Whether evening newspapers managers admitted it or not, migrant workers had become important readers. While there are not enough data to draw the conclusion that, in order to attract more classified advertisements, the evening newspapers have to be friendly to migrant worker, who are also the readers of these classified advertisements, the evening newspapers made a profit by publishing classified advertising aimed at migrant workers. It would be impossible for an anti-migrants newspaper to publish numbers of classified advertisements that help migrant workers look for jobs. The increasing numbers of these advertisements imply that evening newspapers have had a closer relationship with migrant workers in recent years. However, some interviewees argued that their evening newspapers were mainly aimed at middle class people, and they did not include migrant workers

as their main readers. Ai Feifei, senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News, addressed this issue, saying:

“We at Qilu Evening News are more interested in big advertising clients, and our readers are mainly middle class people. Jinan Times and Shandong Commercial News are aimed at ordinary people in the street and migrant workers. Migrant workers are reading Qilu Evening News too, but they are not our main readers” (Ai Feifei, senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News).

In order to win big clients, senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News, Ai Feifei had to present a respectable image of his newspaper. But his argument is very weak compared to most of the other suggestions of journalists. It was noticed that in recent years, during and after the second field work trip made for this research in 2011, there has been a trend that more and more migrant workers turned to using the internet, either using their mobile phones, or going to internet bars, to look for recruitment information. This influenced the classified advertising business in the evening newspapers as a whole, and this was noticed by several interviewees. However, before 2010, this was less of an issue.

8.2.4 Imitation Between Newspapers

Based on the interview data collected from senior managers in the distribution department of the evening newspapers, it was found that homogenized competition has driven journalists to publish similar stories about migrant workers, and to organize similar charity events to help migrant workers. As a result, the number of positive reports about migrant workers has increased.

“In 2004, the Jinan Times started to help migrant workers to ask for their delayed wages, and this had a good social impact. Soon afterwards, the other evening newspapers started to do similar things to help migrant workers.” (Yuan Liming)

“If all the other three evening newspapers report that a migrant worker has jumped into Hucheng River in Jinan and saved a child, but we did not, this will be seen as ‘news leaking’ (漏稿, lou gao) . The journalist who ignored this news will get fined for this.” (Pang De)

“All the evening newspapers are following this style (reporting the human interest stories of migrant workers), and I think this is the trend.” (Yang Daoyi)

This is the broad environment (writing the stories of migrant workers). The other evening newspapers care about ordinary people, and so do we. Otherwise, we will be eliminated from the competition.” (Zhu Huali)

“If another paper has a certain item of news, we have to have it too. I have to check the other three newspapers every day to make sure that we do not ignore any important news.” (Cao Libo)

“There are four evening newspapers in Jinan; if two of them reported an important item of news, but we didn’t, that is not good. The journalist who is in charge of those types of reports will get into trouble.” (Chang Chunxi)

The homogenized competition urged the evening newspapers to show similar sympathetic and friendly attitudes towards migrant workers. As a result, if one evening newspaper held a charity event to deliver watermelons to migrant workers on a hot summer day, another evening newspaper would organize a free holiday for children of migrant workers; if one evening newspaper wrote an article about a migrant worker with a writing talent, the other newspapers would publish a story

about a migrant worker with a singing talent. This homogenized competition led not only to similar content in evening newspapers, but also to similar ideas about how to design the newspapers. It was found that Qilu Evening News was the first among these four evening newspapers to employ graphic designers in 2008 in order to improve the layout of their newspapers and catch the attention of readers. Not long afterwards, the other three evening newspapers all employed graphic designers. Additionally, similarities infiltrated into every aspect of the newspapers' production, promotion and distribution. Wuxu, a senior staff in the distribution department of the Jinan Times told me that when he saw that the other evening newspapers used their distribution lines to deliver bottled pure water to make extra money for the newspaper, his team learnt quickly and did the same. He admitted that it was pure imitation, but they got used to it. Xu Guangbo, a senior staff in the distribution department of Shandong Commercial News, disclosed their business secret, saying that all of the four evening newspapers chose to use a slightly cheaper and therefore lower quality paper in order to cut down the cost on both Saturdays and Sundays.

As a result of the homogenized competition, the contents of these four evening newspapers in Jinan were quite similar. They had to compete on something else: the weight of the paper. Xu Guangbo described an interesting phenomenon in China that newspapers could be sold as recycled paper. The heavier the newspapers were, the more benefit one could get. Assuming they all had similar contents, readers tended to buy the heaviest newspapers. Newspapers managers could not ignore this tendency in purchasing behaviour, in order not to lose readers.

Homogenization was an outcome of business competition. This may be difficult to be understood as competition normally encourages diversity and different strategic actions. Chen & Guo (2007) explained that copying the contents and business models of the successful newspapers, was the easiest and quickest way for Chinese evening newspapers to be recognized by their readers. Homogenized competition exists not only in the evening newspapers, but exists in every industry in China. The

lack of creativity and the lack of respect for their intellectual property rights could be the real reasons for this.

8.3 How Professional Practices of Chinese Journalists Influences Reports about Migrant Workers

Although government propaganda and censorship are still influential factors in their work, many journalists working for Chinese evening newspapers try to push the boundaries, dig deep and pursue stories that may embarrass some of those who wield power. As mentioned in the interviews, Hua Bo, an investigative journalist from the Jinan Times played a trick with the Party's directive, and published a story about a protest by migrant workers. Many of the interviewees hold strong views on the role of journalism and the duties of journalists. The journalists in the Chinese evening newspapers absorbed or adapted the same kind of professional values as are characteristic of some Western journalists. For example, in the early Chinese news reports, expert sources were hardly used, because the party was the authority; but nowadays, Chinese journalists have begun to cite authorities following the Western standards of credibility and balance. The increased emphasis on professionalism has changed the face of Chinese journalism. These professional practices have also influenced journalists when reporting issues about migrant workers.

The findings are discussed below:

8.3.1 Journalists Perception of Their Social Responsibilities

In the West, professional journalists follow a standard of conduct and ethics when working in mass media, and a journalist has a professional responsibility to present news within the principles of truthfulness, accuracy, objectivity, impartiality, fairness and public accountability. The preamble to the code of the Society of Professional

Journalists states that the duty of the journalist is to further public enlightenment, which is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy, by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. The duties of Chinese journalists were issued in the current code of ethics, Codes of Professional Ethics for the Chinese journalists, which the All China Journalists Association revised in November 2009, as “serving the people, leading correct public opinion, seeking truth, promoting good tradition, adhering innovation, obeying the laws and promoting international media communication” (Li, 2012: 388). They both stress the importance of “seeking truth”. However, during the fieldwork, it was found that helping migrant workers and solving their problems are seen as duties by the Chinese journalists in the evening newspapers, even though many of them also see these actions as brand building strategies for the newspapers, political events for the local officials, or business events for some companies. Additionally, different terms were used to relate to duties, such as “social responsibilities” (社会职责, *she hui zhi ze*) and “news ideals” (新闻理想, *xin wen li xiang*), were frequently used by the interviewed journalists, including Li Weixun, Dong Fei and Ke Qiang, to explain why they helped migrant workers.

“Journalists have to fulfil a lot of social responsibilities, for example reporting the truth, upholding fairness and social justice. Journalists who have news ideals are working towards these goals.” (Li Weixun)

“What attracted me most to becoming a journalist, was that journalists can change something, and they can help someone. These are our news ideals too.” (Dong Fei)

“We will not publish sensational news, because if we do so, it will be against our news ideals.” (Ke Qiang)

Here, social responsibilities mentioned by the Chinese journalists are quite different from those used in the Western press. In the International Principles of Professional

Ethics in Journalism, issued by the Consultative Club of International and Regional Organizations of Journalists in Paris in November 1983, the social responsibility of journalists is discussed: it states that the journalist: “shares responsibility for the information transmitted and is thus accountable not only to those controlling the media but ultimately to the public at large, including various social interests.” In Chinese media text books, the social responsibilities of journalists are stated as “reporting useful information to the public, reporting what the public wants told, helping government find the deficiencies in their work, supervising the government and protecting the interests of the country” (Zheng, 2010: 245-246). It is interesting to notice that the social responsibilities of journalists explained in the Chinese text book are different from what the journalists understand in their practice. Helping socially vulnerable groups and arranging charity work for them were not taught to journalism students as part of their job.

News ideals (新闻理想, *xin wen li xiang*) is another term that was frequently used by the interviewed journalists. In most Chinese media text books, this term is rarely mentioned and the exact meaning of the term is unclear. Most interviewees explained this term in their own way, and nearly all of them cited one common quote to explain the essence of their news ideals: “A journalist should have a brave heart to serve justice and a sharp mind to produce eloquence” (铁肩担道义, 辣手著文章, *tie jian dan dao yi, la shou zhu wen zhang*). This saying was first used by revolutionary journalist Li Dazhao in 1916 in his newspaper “Beijing Morning Bell” (Zhu, 2005), and later it was widely used by Chinese intellectuals who wished to benefit mankind. Thus, “news ideals” are close to the journalists’ own idealistic wishes. Here, “news ideals” is different from the news professional ideals (新闻专业主义, *xin wen zhuan ye zhu yi*), and the latter can be frequently seen in Chinese media text books. Zheng (2007) defined news professional ideals as expectations and hopes of what journalists should do, and the desires and pursuit of achieving success

within this profession. In this terminology, the “professional” (专, *zhuan*) means “expert”, serving the people with professional knowledge and skill (Li, 1995: 544).

Thus, social responsibilities can be understood as what journalists should do, and news ideals can be seen as what journalists want to do. A conclusion can be drawn that whether it is given by the nature of this profession, or whether it is initiative emanating from journalists, helping migrant workers has been widely seen as part of the duties of journalists working for evening newspapers. Thus, the overall percentage of articles about sending warmth to migrant workers, solving the problems of migrant workers and upholding migrant workers’ rights have increased in recent years.

8.3.2 The Emergence of Watchdog Journalism in China

One of the important outcomes of professionalization of Chinese journalists is the emergence of watchdog journalism. In the Western media, many journalists are directly engaged in social justice journalism, which is directed towards and intends to provoke social change. This is particularly true of the investigative journalists, who provide a voice for those without one and hold the powerful to account. Though media scholars continue to debate whether upholding social justice is the responsibility of journalists, as the “fourth estate” and “watchdog”, investigative journalists represent the interests of the masses, and they are seen as custodians of the public conscience (Ettema & Glasser, 1998: 4). Based on the data from the interviews, one findings is that Chinese journalists in the evening newspapers are embarking on a similar journey to that of professional journalists in the West. However, instead of upholding social justice, and being sceptical and critical of government and business elites, they use the power of their positions to encourage the local authorities to solve migrant workers’ problems. Journalists Jin Lan, Liang Geng, Liu Gechun and Yin Yiwen explained in more detail below:

“Once the problems are reported by the media, the pressure from the public and higher officials will drive the related departments to solve the problems.” (Jin Lan)

“We have the ability to help others, especially the socially disadvantaged people, so we do so.” (Liang Geng)

“Although it seems strange, many people don’t turn to the courts to settle their disputes, but find the media to help them. The media have this special power.” (Liu Gechun)

“I remember at the beginning of this century we offered a news hotline to migrant workers before Spring Festival to help them ask for their delayed wages. There were so many calls, and it seemed that we were the only organization that was helping them.” (Yin Yiwen)

The interview data collected from journalists indicate that these Chinese journalists who are helping others, and solving problems of migrant workers have become public actors, revealing injustices, giving a voice to the voiceless, and acting as a catalyst for change to help individuals. They have undertaken these tasks due to the current situation in China. In a healthy society, the government or the NGOs could offer help to socially vulnerable people, however, in contemporary China, there are so many deficiencies in the government policies, and so many problems unsolved, or solved slowly. Also, more interviews indicate that some people are reluctant for their problems to be solved through a proper process, because they do not trust the related departments, worrying that they only favour rich and powerful people, or they could not solve their problems efficiently. Under these circumstances, the evening newspapers seem to be the only organization that they can turn to. This special power of evening newspapers is similar to the power that Western media has: the power of using social pressure to encourage change. There are differences between these two

powers too. In sharp contrast to the Western liberal ideal of independent and even adversarial state-press relations, the media in China advocates a constructive approach. Media are widely seen as cooperating and collaborating with the Party toward common goals such as being against local corruption and the abuse of power (Cho, 2010: 171). Thus, media in China are more interested in solving problems of individuals, rather than appealing for a complete change to the whole society.

Through professionalization, journalists in China have developed their own standards based on their own values. The changing professional practices of Chinese journalists have caused more positive reports about migrant workers.

8.3.3 New Writing Perspectives

The selected reports in 2010 showed that in recent years, there were more human interest stories about migrant workers, and these stories portrayed migrant workers in a positive way. Further interview data collected from journalists and senior management staff indicate that there was a significant connection between this change and the new writing perspectives adopted by journalists in the evening newspapers in recent years. Therefore, these articles would seem to be the outcome of new professional practices adopted by journalists in the evening newspapers, with the aim of showing more humanity to the ordinary people.

“I personally choose a humane (人文, ren wen) writing perspective, and I am interested in writing the stories of ordinary people (小人物, xiao ren wu).” (Zhu Huali)

“We wrote about migrant workers who were working in the hot weather and we found a resting place for them. This showed our humanity.” (Ruan Qingle)

“We report migrant workers issues mainly from the perspective of caring about them, for example, we reported sending watermelons to them in summer, and giving them down jackets during the cold winter.” (Han Wei, a senior manager at Qilu Evening News)

“I personally see migrant workers as socially disadvantaged people, and I always write reports about them from the perspective of helping them.” (Liang Geng)

“I didn’t pay much attention to reporting from a compassionate angle before, but now I do.” (Qu Yun)

“When I write articles about migrant workers, I always think about how to help them in a practical way.” (Cao Huaguang)

It is normal for us journalists to favour migrant workers.” (Zhang Dong)

Usage of the terms “favour”, “from a compassionate angle”, “the perspective of helping them”, and “the perspective of caring about” implies that journalists in the evening newspapers deliberately show favour to migrant workers, who are socially and economically disadvantaged people. Chinese media scholars, including Liu & Zhang (2003), Wu (2007) & Zhang (2010) explained this phenomenon: as a new characteristic of the commercialized evening newspapers, the evening newspapers were expected to show humanity (人文关怀, *ren wen guan huai*) to ordinary people, and targeting the socially vulnerable groups was the best choice. In practice, the journalists were asked to report more news about people’s livelihoods (民生新闻, *min sheng xin wen*). This includes news that can help migrant workers to solve their problems. All the senior management staff who were interviewed in the four evening newspapers stressed that they would be kind to ordinary people and do something good for them. Dong Cunqi, a former senior manager at the Jinan Times, described that when he was working for this paper, the Jinan Times was following

the principle of having a moral obligation to assist people in need, and upholding justice for the weak. Han Wei, a senior manager at Qilu Evening News insisted that journalists should show love to the disadvantaged people. As a result, the human interest stories of migrant workers, and stories that focus on helping them, have been frequently published in the four evening newspapers. At the same time, this journalistic practice was frequently discussed by Chinese media scholars who encouraged journalists to report more stories about socially disadvantaged people. Almost all the interviewees for this research accepted this principle without question.

There are 145 evening newspapers in China (Chinese Evening Newspapers Association, 2001), and most of them adopted similar styles. It would be interesting to know which evening newspaper first adopted the perspective of showing care to ordinary people, and reported their stories first. This new journalistic practice, widely used in the four evening newspapers in Jinan, may have been learned from the other evening newspapers. Related literature shows that Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper from Chengdu, Sichuan Province, one of the most popular commercialized evening newspapers in China, was the first newspaper that aimed to “tell stories of ordinary people”. Metropolitan newspapers were first published in 1990s. There is still a debate about whether metropolitan newspapers should be classified as evening newspapers or not (see Chapter 1.5). Most Chinese media scholars identify them as one type of evening newspaper, since both have similar content and marketing strategies (Liu & Zhang, 2004: 6). From September, 1995 to August, 1996, Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper published many stories about ordinary teachers, policemen, soldiers, homeless people and migrant workers (Wu, 2007: 80). One of Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper’s stated aims is to “do things for readers” (办事, *ban shi*). Following the success of Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper, evening newspapers in Jinan may have gradually adopted Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper’s new writing perspectives, either directly or by diffusion through one or more intermediate newspapers. The interview data for this research does show that senior managers of evening newspapers in Jinan were sent to Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper or the

other successful commercialized newspapers to learn from their experiences in order to improve their contents and business model, in order to succeed in a sharply competitive environment. Interview data also show that it is possible that this writing perspective might have been mandated by the newspapers' senior staff. Xie Huahua, dean of the news department at Qilu Evening News stressed that the paper told young journalists to avoid any language that implied discrimination toward migrant workers, and similar rules would be announced very clearly in the training courses for new journalists. Dong Deyi, a senior manager at Shandong Commercial News also emphasized that they would tell young journalists what to do, and required them to have a sympathetic attitude towards disadvantaged people. Therefore, it is difficult to tell whether journalists started the new professional practices through their own will, or because they were told to do so, or both.

8.3.4 Improved Professional Practices

The interview data collected from journalists and newspapers' senior management staff indicate that when Qilu Evening News and the Jinan Times were founded, most journalists were either hired from the Party's newspapers or from the other local bureaus or factories, where they mainly worked as secretaries. Few of them had journalism degrees and few knew how to write news for evening newspapers. Wu Qiong, a senior manager at the Jinan Times, who was also one of the founders of the Jinan Times, recalled there were 50 of them, and none of them knew what an evening newspaper was like. They had to write articles based on their own understanding. However, in recent years, more and more university journalism graduates started to work for evening newspapers in Jinan. It does not mean that journalists with journalism degrees are better journalists, but generally speaking, they had been taught to become professional journalists, and they ought to be more professional than their predecessors. However, graduates with history degrees, economics degrees or politics degrees can also be employed by evening newspapers if they can show

they are good reporters or writers. Those professional abilities have become the essential skills for them to secure a job as a journalist.

The selected data in 2010 show that in recent years, journalists in the evening newspapers started to point out missing or unsatisfactory policies which affected migrant workers, such as not compensating migrant workers for working in hot weather, or deficient workplace health and safety training. This implies that journalists in the evening newspapers have come to know migrant workers better. The interview data collected from journalists for this thesis show that the professional practices of journalists in the evening newspapers have contributed to this change.

“Nowadays, we usually find stories about migrant workers by ourselves” (Chang Chunxi)

“As journalists in the evening newspapers, we ought to care for the ordinary people, and we ought to be among them, gathering stories from them.” (Cheng Yinde)

“In earlier days, there were more reports focusing on the problems that migrant workers brought to the cities, and fewer reports reporting their hardships and suffering. The journalists in the evening newspapers did not understand them then.” (Jiang Leishi)

From the analysis of selected reports from the perspective of “industrial accidents involving migrant workers” and “criminal offences committed by migrant workers”, a conclusion can be drawn that through in-depth interviews and their own investigations, the journalists in the evening newspapers have come to know migrant workers better in recent years. Thus, the journalists in the evening newspapers can spot their problems and understand their hardships easily. As a result, more “professional” news has been produced. Li Fanghua, who wrote an article on June 9,

2002 (page 4), in the Shandong Commercial News, reported that migrant workers had to have showers in the springs, because the employers wanted to save money and did not offer shower water for them. Li Fanghua told me that he found this story himself.

“I remember when I passed by the springs, I saw a man wearing a red armband watching the springs, and I asked him why. He told me that his duty was to stop migrant workers washing themselves in the springs. Quickly I realized there must be a reason why migrant workers like to wash here. I tried to find the answer. It was not a perfect article, and it only showed the problem. If I wrote it today, I would do more investigations, and write it into a big piece. I would interview the related officials and experts, to suggest some solutions to this problem.” (Li Fanghua)

When being asked why he did not feel it so necessary to help migrant workers then, he explained that he was young, and had not much experience as a journalist, and also he did not know what kind of news evening newspapers needed. Cao Huaguang, from Qilu Evening News, also stated:

“I reported issues about migrant workers in 2004, but I am not satisfied with that article now. Maybe I was too young then. I would report those issues differently today. Now, I would follow migrant workers step by step, to find the deeper reasons that caused their problems. I would also focus on how to help migrant workers in a practical and effective way. I would not report those simple phenomena only. I was writing ‘fast food’ news then, and those reports were not good reports.” (Cao Huaguang)

The maturing of journalists themselves ran in parallel with their improved professional practices, and this process might have been developed at the same time as the maturing of evening newspapers. It is apparent that there has always been a mix of older and younger journalists: however, maturity is not a measure of age,

rather it is about how they find news, deal with all sorts of information, and write news. It can be understood as how professional they are.

The journalists in the evening newspapers are also aware not to bring harm to their interviewees, for example, avoiding publishing the names and pictures of children. The interview data below support this finding.

“I remember clearly that I asked the migrant workers whether I should publish their pictures with pixellation. However, they insisted on showing their faces. Then we asked them to sign an agreement. We are very careful when dealing with the pictures of interviewees now.” (Li Fanghua)

“This accident was a big disaster for the families of victims, so we should minimize the harm. So I decided to use pseudonyms.” (Ma Shanshan)

We must use pixellation to avoid causing adverse effects for our interviewees: for example, we show the pictures of criminals and crime suspects with pixellation.” (Huang Gou)

The interview data collected from journalists and newspapers’ senior management staff show that, apart from occasional discussions by some Chinese media scholars in the media periodicals, there are no regulated ethical standards on how to report on the lives of disadvantaged people. These standards may come from the development of evening newspapers. Some of them also pointed out that these taboos were picked up little by little during their work.

“We always make our own judgement. For example, we try to cover the names of children in all our reports, unless they ask us not to. Also, we use pseudonyms to describe the children that we help. We want them to be respected, not feel that they

grew up under the benevolence of other people.” (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“For example, a new upcoming journalist used ‘old grandpa’ to describe an old man in his article, and this is not suitable. If that man is only 50 years old, but he looks old, he would feel uncomfortable when he reads this article, so we try to avoid these kinds of descriptions.” (Liang Geng)

However, when the evening newspapers, such as Qilu Evening News and Jinan Times, were newly founded, these ethics and standards were not known by journalists. This phenomenon is clearly shown in the earlier selected reports data. It is obvious that journalists in the evening newspapers have acted more professionally in recent years either in the way they gather information or deal with sensitive content.

The qualification exam issued by China General Administration of Press and Publication may have contributed to the improved professional practices of journalists in China. Since June, 2003, aspiring journalists in China are required to pass a professional examination organized by the Provincial Press and Publication Bureau, before they can apply for a press card. This press card is issued by the government, and it is a license for the journalist to practice their profession (Yang, 2009). The contents of these books imply that this exam was quite politically based. It seems that efforts are being made by the Chinese government to restrict media coverage of events deemed politically sensitive. However, in one of the books named “The work of publishing” published by the Press and Publication Bureau of Shandong in 2010, a lot of practical journalistic practice was included, for example, how to use punctuation marks correctly, the specifications of advertising language and the rules of describing quantities and units. These requirements urge journalists in China to become more professional.

Analysing the data from interviews with journalists and newspapers' senior managers, it was found that with the improved professional practices of Chinese journalists, the readers of evening newspapers have been offered more accurate and reliable information. More objective and in-depth reports about migrant workers were published in 2010 in the evening newspapers in Jinan, compared with the types of reports in 2004 and earlier.

8.3.5 How the Family Background of Journalists Influences Their Reports

Different versions of journalists' code of ethics require that journalists should be fair and impartial, and avoid bias, and thus they can represent people correctly. However, the interview data collected from journalists and newspapers' senior managers show that journalists in evening newspapers, who originally come from the countryside, are more likely to be friendly to migrant workers. These journalists have had a dramatic impact on human interest stories about migrant workers, articles about helping migrant workers to solve their problems and advice on upholding migrant workers' rights. They have also helped change the content of news pages with material of interest to migrant workers. The representations of migrant workers by journalists cannot be separated from the journalists' own family backgrounds. Relevant quotes from interviewees are given below:

“Both of my parents still live in the countryside. Like migrant workers, in order to have a better life, I had to work in the city. I have an emotional attachment to farmers and I care about migrant workers, because we share similar feelings.” (Zhu Huali)

“Migrant workers are our sisters and brothers. As a journalist who grew up in the countryside, I can understand their situation and choices. I have a natural empathy (tian sheng de ganqing) towards them.” (Yuan Liming)

“Yuan Liming has done a lot for the migrant workers. He is a son of farmers, and he regards migrant workers as his brothers and sisters in his bones (从骨子里面, cong gu zi li mian) . He understands the hardships that migrant workers face very well”. (Qiao Ligang, a senior manager at Jinan Times)

“If you originally came from countryside, you will have a farmer’s mentality. I have lived in Jinan for 14 years, but I still feel that I am an outsider. I think I live at the edge of the city.” (Yang Daoyi)

“It is a special emotion. I cared about migrant workers out of my own will.” (Yuan Liming)

“My sister is running a restaurant in Jinan: she is a migrant worker.” (Cao Yundi)

Significantly, the majority of respondents felt that they had a strong emotional attachment to the countryside, and to the people from the countryside. This can be easily understood since people in any environment who have similar experiences can better connect with and can offer more empathy and sympathy to each other (Mead & Macneil, 2004). Like migrant workers, they moved to the cities for work; unlike migrant workers, they usually have university degrees. They even have similar movement patterns to migrant workers: they return to their villages for Spring Festival, joining the travel rush of migrant workers. Thus, they write more about migrant workers. They tend to put migrant workers’ needs above other social issues, are more keen on helping migrant workers, and they are more interested in softer feature stories about migrant workers. However, some interviewees also argued that

the economic and political factors behind the growth of human interest stories are more important than the family background of journalists.

These results need to be interpreted with caution: journalists from the countryside have a special emotion towards migrant workers, but it does not mean that journalists from the cities have no sympathy for them. Liang Geng, a city-born journalist told me that he saw migrant workers as socially disadvantaged people, and he always wanted to help them. Qu Yun, whose hometown is Jinan, told me that he would be kind to all low-income people, including migrant workers. At the same time, a small number of the interviewees suggested that this emotional attachment from their “family background” may change gradually, as Hua Bo pointed out:

“This emotional attachment cannot last forever. With an improving financial situation and changes to life style, this attachment may fade.” (Hua Bo)

It is difficult to calculate accurately the number of journalists in each newspaper who are originally from the countryside due to the time limit for this research, but the interview data indicate that about half of the journalists working in each evening newspaper are from the countryside nowadays. It is more difficult to find the number of journalists who were from the countryside when the evening newspapers were founded. However, a clear connection between positive reports about migrant workers with journalists from a rural background could be identified in this analysis.

Another finding is that a large proportion of the interviewees for this research who are from the countryside are graduates from the Journalism Department at Shandong Normal University (*Normal universities are institutions of higher education at which teachers from the Province receive training*). Since the late 1990s, Shandong Normal University started to teach a journalism course, and this was the first journalism major to be taught in Shandong Province. Rural students tend to favour normal universities because they were cheaper than traditional universities. A survey shows

that typically the percentage of rural students in a normal university is about 60 percent (Yuan, 2007), and the interviewee data collected from journalists show that this number is about 80% at Shandong Normal University. Evening newspapers in Jinan recruited many journalism graduates at normal universities. This may help to explain why there are so many journalists from a rural background in the evening newspapers in Jinan. They are deeply concerned with issues of migrant workers, they speak for them and they tell their stories, contributing to the changing of their lives. Thus, positive reports about migrant workers have increased in recent years.

8.4 Concluding Remarks

The three forces of politics, market forces and professionalisation have shaped the development of the evening newspapers and hence their content. There has been a significant shift in practices in Chinese journalism over the past two decades, the period which has also marked the epoch of transition in China from a planned economy to a market-based economy. Even though the evening newspapers are still an arm of the state and their content must be decided under the larger umbrella of Party supervision and guidance, the evening newspapers are run as profit-making businesses, while simultaneously fulfilling their own social responsibility which is to serve the public.

Reports of charity events are the typical news story created by Chinese evening newspapers to meet these three forces. The readers are interested in reading these compassionate reports; these reports are politically safe, even showing a harmonious society; and at the same time, these reports realize the dreams of many journalists by helping the socially vulnerable people. They are also public relations reports, either showing the positive images of local officials, or business people, and they provide a useful strategy to improve the brand of evening newspapers too. Human interest stories about migrant workers contain sympathy from journalists, and

these stories show that journalists adopted a new perspective as part of their journalistic practice; the readers developed an emotional attachment to the characters, and they became more loyal to the newspapers; and meanwhile, these reports fit the Party line of caring for ordinary people. In order to protect the interests of their important advertising clients, adverse reports about them were blocked by the evening newspapers, and many of these reports involved issues concerning migrant workers, such as migrant workers' protests, wage disputes, and migrant workers committing suicide. Coincidentally, these reports are politically sensitive too, with the Party expecting them not to be reported.

However, these current reports about migrant workers did not start with the birth of evening newspapers, which was about two decades ago. With the rapid commercialization of the papers, and the professionalization of Chinese journalists, and also the guidance of the Party, this compromised feature of Chinese evening newspapers under the three forces has become clearer. Negotiating their way through all the competing pressures, including market forces, political pressure and media freedom, professional journalists in China have developed their own standards based on Chinese values.

Chapter 9 Conclusion and Reflections

9.1 An Overview of the Thesis

This study is motivated by a desire to better understand representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers. What are the kind of stories concerning migrant workers in the evening newspapers? Has the focus of these reports changed during the past twenty years? What kinds of changes? Why have these changes occurred? This study has also been inspired by the apparent inability of existing studies to explain these different representations completely.

This thesis began with the aim of this study: to examine representations of migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers during the last two decades and to explore what factors have shaped reports about migrant workers in these papers. Chapter 1 has provided brief background information relevant to the research question, sketching out three contrasting forces that influence the content of the evening newspapers: the Party, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists. In addition, the gaps in the current literature and contributions of the present study discussed in this chapter have highlighted the importance of understanding representations of migrant workers in the Chinese media, which influence public attitudes towards migrant workers, and the policy-making aimed at migrant workers. Chapter 1 has also defined some of the terminology employed in this study: “evening newspapers”, “positive” and “negative”. The discussion of problems and limitations in this chapter offered suggestions for further research, and ethical issues in this research provided guidelines for the responsible conduct of data collecting. Chapter 1 ended with the structure of this thesis, and it has provided an overview of the study.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 has provided a detailed overview of the two main issues that are related to this research: migrant workers in contemporary China and Chinese evening newspapers in the transition era. Owing to the vast amount of research that has been undertaken on these two subjects, it was impossible to systematically review all of this literature, so Chapter 2 approached this task by focusing on the important themes relevant to these two issues. Chapter 2 concluded by pointing out that migrant workers are today still treated differently from urban workers. They have been widely seen as socially disadvantaged in urban cities. The newly-founded Chinese evening newspapers are a relatively more consumer-oriented part of the media, but they are also under the Party's supervision.

Chapter 3 has identified the literature relevant to answering the research questions. It began with a general discussion on how media represent social issues and how migrant workers have been reported in the Chinese evening newspapers during the last two decades. The following discussions were mainly based on the research hypothesis to examine the role of politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists in shaping the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers. This hypothesis formed a central analysis framework which helps to guide the empirical field work. The implications of this chapter were that all three forces: politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists played important roles in shaping the reports about migrant workers in the Chinese evening newspapers.

Chapter 4 outlined the research methodology. This involved content analysis of evening newspapers in Jinan and in-depth interviews with journalists, senior management staff, marketing staff and advertising staff from evening newspapers. The first part of this chapter explained the aims and research choices of this study, and also provided the reasons for choosing Jinan as a case study subject: evening newspapers in Jinan are typical or representative of evening newspapers in most of the other cities in China; and as a journalist who used to work there, the researcher

had easy access to the interviewees. After identifying the sample times for analysis of the newspapers, the chapter then went on to describe the approaches taken to analyse the data: newspaper content, newspapers discourse analysis and thematic content analysis. In total, 299 articles about migrant workers were selected and 51 interviews were undertaken: 18 at the Qilu Evening News, 6 at the Life Daily, 16 at the Jinan Times and 13 at Shandong Commercial News. This chapter ended by providing reflective thinking on this case study and the process of interview analysis. It sought to examine the changing balance of negative reports and positive reports about migrant workers in the papers, the different terms used to describe migrant workers, and how the journalistic practice in reporting issues about migrant workers had changed.

Chapter 5 is the first of four empirical chapters in this thesis. It began by demonstrating how to obtain relatively valid and reliable data from the reports. Next, the themes of the 299 selected reports were identified. Based on these themes, these data from the reports were categorised into three groups: positive reports, negative reports and neutral reports. The percentages of positive reports and negative reports at each period were counted and displayed. Graphs were plotted based on these percentages. The findings presented here suggest that the negative reports have decreased over time and the positive reports have increased. In this chapter it therefore became clear that the existing literature which stated that the media portrayal of migrant workers was mainly negative was incomplete or incorrect.

Chapters 6 and 7 have taken a different starting point to analyse the data from selected reports: through exploring the usage of language, how the pictures were selected to accompany the reports, the reporting focus, what was ignored and the sources of news, Chapters 6 and 7 revealed the changing journalistic practice in reporting issues about migrant workers. The first of these, Chapter 6 employed discourse analysis to analyse the different terms used to describe migrant workers over time. The most frequently used terms to describe migrant workers at different

times were identified. The findings presented here suggested that in recent years, the discriminatory terms were used much less often and the most frequently used terms were the workers' specific jobs titles and neutral terms, without referring to migrant workers' original backgrounds and without differentiating them from the urban workers. The distinctive terms containing respect, praise, friendliness, or sympathy used to describe migrant workers, the usage of full real names and pseudonyms were also discussed in this chapter with the conclusion that in recent reports journalists in the evening newspapers paid more respect and care to migrant workers and their children.

Chapter 7 engaged in analysing the reports with the themes of "industrial accidents involving migrant workers" and "criminal offences committed by migrant workers". This chapter first explained why these two themes were chosen. To help facilitate this discussion, the following section described the analytical framework that was adopted for this analysis. The analysis presented in Chapter 7 has clearly shown that representation of migrant workers in the evening newspapers had become more accurate and objective.

In summary, findings from Chapter 5 to Chapter 7 show that portrayals of migrant workers in the evening newspapers were more complex, nuanced and dynamic than the conclusions drawn from most of the previous studies, which claimed that these portrayals mainly stereotyped migrant workers, criticizing migrant workers as dirty, careless and with low standards of education and saw them as a threat to the urban society. Actually, in recent years, there have been more reports caring about migrant workers' living conditions and their health, recognizing their contribution to the cities, and appealing for improvement to the social policies which protect migrant workers' rights. This has shown that representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers have changed.

Chapter 8 examined the three main forces to explain the reason for the changing representations of migrant workers in the evening newspapers based on the data from the reports, interview data and relevant literature. Firstly, it explored how politics influences reports about migrant workers, from the perspective of “changing angles” reports, “public relations” reports, the political awareness of journalists and the “weakening” of media control. Secondly, it discussed the role of market forces in reporting issues about migrant workers, from the perspective of the profit model, branding strategies, classified advertising aimed at migrant workers and homogenized competition. Thirdly, it analysed how the professional practices of Chinese journalists influence reports about migrant workers, from the perspective of perception of social responsibility in the eyes of Chinese journalists, the emergence of watchdog journalism, improved professional practices and the family background of journalists.

One obvious finding that emerged from this chapter was that the Communist government’s control of the media has been undermined by the commercialization of media and by the professionalization of journalists. The research data revealed that journalists have a much more relaxed attitude towards the propaganda department, and that they had even in recent years resorted to tricks to bypass the government’s regulations in order to get news reported. This “guerrilla war” between journalists and the propaganda department implied that the media were challenging central control over their work. Generally speaking, the Chinese media has become relatively freer and more independent than before.

There is overwhelming evidence in this chapter to show that finance has become a major influence on media agendas and content. For example, in order to keep their important advertising clients happy, the evening newspapers often chose not to publish stories that may damage the reputation of these clients. This phenomenon exists widely in the media industries of every country: for example, it is normal in the West that the media tend not to report bad news about their owners and major

share-holders (Davies, 2008), and the owners of the media usually have an influence on the news.

This chapter also found that the family background of journalists could influence their reports: journalists at evening newspapers who originally came from the countryside are more likely to be friendly to migrant workers, and report positive stories about migrant workers. These journalists, who normally have a university degree, and have migrated from the countryside to cities, have contributed to the understanding and convergence between urban and rural people.

Chapter 8 ended by concluding that under all the competing pressures, including market forces, political pressure and media freedom, professional journalists in China have developed their own standards based on Chinese values.

9.2 Generalizability from the Case Study in Jinan to China

The results from this case study in Jinan can also be applied to evening newspapers in most other cities in China (see Chapter 4.4). Because, in most Chinese cities, like Jinan, several evening newspapers have been set up, aimed at local people. For example, in Cheng Du, Sichuan Province in China, there are four main evening newspapers, including Chegndu Evening News (《成都晚报》), Chengdu Commercial News (《成都商报》), Tianfu Morning News (《天府早报》) and Huaxi Metropolitan Newspaper (《华西都市报》). In Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province in China, there are also four main evening newspapers, including Qianjiang Evening News (《钱江晚报》), Today's Morning News (《今日早报》), Metropolitan Express (《都市快报》), and Daily Commercial News (《每日商报》). Like evening newspapers in Jinan, some of these evening newspapers were set up by the Party's newspapers, and some of them were founded

by state owned commercial groups. The evening newspapers published in the same city usually have similar market positions and target similar readers, and they also compete with each other, like the four evening newspapers in Jinan. They also have a similar business model, surviving by selling advertising. The contents of evening newspapers published in the same city are quite similar too, because these papers usually rely on similar news sources. All these evening newspapers are supervised by the Party, and receive directives on how to report and what not to report every so often, but have to make money by running as a business. The phenomenon of migrant workers is also very common in most Chinese cities, and thus almost all the evening newspapers in different cities in China are having similar issues: how to represent migrant workers and whether there have been changes in the representation of migrant workers over the last two decades. The results from the case study in Jinan illustrate a number of situations and findings common to evening newspapers in most Chinese cities.

However, some factors need to be considered when study evening newspapers in different cities. Brady (2007: 25) pointed out that there are some regional differences in how propaganda and thought work is managed. Newspapers in Beijing, the capital of China, are under closer supervision from the authorities. They have many more restrictions when covering events in the capital and sensitive news from other areas. Also, if we investigated evening newspapers in Xinjiang and Tibet, where there are fewer migrant workers, it may be difficult to research their changes from the perspective of reporting migrant workers. But the theoretical conclusion from the case study in Jinan (see Chapter 9.3) may be still applicable to them.

9.3 Interplay of the Three Forces

In an era of transition, China has gone through free market reforms without political liberalization (Lau, Qian & Roland, 2000), thus as a result of media reform, politics,

market forces and the newly emerged professionalization of Chinese journalists have interacted with each other and shaped the content of the press.

It appears that migrant workers are frequently reported as socially disadvantaged people, who are in need of social or economic support. This is evident especially in the reports on charity events aimed at migrant workers: these reports often present migrant workers as a group of people who are dependent on the government and society for support, which is considered a gift, not a right. On the one hand, there are more ethical considerations and more humanistic concerns in the reports, indicating the improved professional practices of Chinese journalists, and on the other hand, this division implies that the improvement to professional practices of Chinese journalists is not complete: if this was the case, why have journalists not openly questioned the government's Hukou system, and challenged the state's policies. The findings show that this division seems to be a result of the confluence of three forces – political interference, market forces and professionalization of Chinese journalists. The three forces acted on the newspapers' content at the same time, and resulted in these “balanced” reports. The reports on charity events aimed at migrant workers are one type of such reports. This analysis also applies to the reports on solving the problems of migrant workers.

The “changing angles” reports also reflect these three contesting forces. It is very crucial for journalists to report the accidents and disasters quickly because of media competition, and also it is the journalists' duty to seek truth and tell the public what has happened. However, reporting accidents and disasters without permission is seen as a threat to social order by the Chinese government. The “changing angles” reports, such as reports on rescues, can meet these three requirements at the same time: people are interested in reading these reports, these reports can please the government and the stories can be published quickly. This research finds that the “political awareness” of journalists has also been raised, which could be understood as their “awareness” of self-censorship. Thus, determined by the interaction of three

forces, the charity events reports and changing angles reports have been created, and this could partly explain why there have been more positive reports about migrant workers in recent years.

Media commercialization in China has provided many opportunities for the media to develop, on condition that they do not challenge the Party. These developments also allowed the professionalization of Chinese journalists, assisted by the catalyst of journalism education in the universities. Politics, market forces and the professionalization of Chinese journalists will continue to interact with each other, and as a result, the reports about migrant workers in the evening newspapers may change in the future.

9.4 Contribution and Further Research

This study contributes to the existing knowledge about media representations of social issues in China by focusing on how Chinese evening newspapers have portrayed migrant workers over the last two decades. By using a diversity of methods to explore the reports related to migrant workers, it challenges the existing literature that the media portrayal of migrant workers is mainly negative. However, there is no tendency towards increasing negativity in the data. On the contrary, there seems to be an increasing share of positive items in the news. This study enhances understanding of the role of politics, market forces and professionalization of Chinese journalists in the evening newspapers' reports. The empirical findings in this study provide rich data on how the Chinese journalists work under different forces in the current media environment, and how they understand their own work. The research results from this study may be also applied to other media output in China, such as magazines, radio news coverage and TV reports.

Finally, a number of important limitations need to be considered. This study, which has provided an overview of the changes in Chinese newspapers' representations of the migrant workers and the reasons behind these changes, can be expanded to include the roles of web 2.0 and social media in representing migrant workers in the media. It would also be of interest to "measure" the distance felt by migrant workers and the rest of society with regard to their media representations and the real world. Of special interest would be a study clarifying the relationship between migrant workers and Chinese media, and identifying migrant workers' role in shaping representation of themselves in the media.

Bibliography

Abbott A. (1988) *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Albarran, A. B. (1996) *Media Economics*, Ames: Iowa State University Press.

Anderson, C. (2008) *Professionalization of Journalism*, *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, Wolfgang Donsbach, Blackwell.

Ashley, E. (2006) *Speak No Evil: Mass Media Control in Contemporary China*, Freedom House Special Report.

Bao, Jiansheng (2004) *Bao Zhi Ling Shou Yu Fei Lei Guang Gao de Hu Dong Guan Xi* (The relationship between newspaper sales and classified advertising), (*Xin Wen Shi Jian*) Practical Journalism, No. 6.

Barth, F. (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Difference*, Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, pp.34.

Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Bell, J. (2005) *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science* (4th edition), Open University Press.

Bell, P. (2001) *Content Analysis of Visual Images*, in Leeuwen, T. V. & Jewitt, C. (Eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp.10-34.

Berelson, B. (1952) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, New York: the Free Press of Glencoe.

Bernstein, T. P. (1977) *Urban Youth in the Countryside: Problems of Adaptation and Remedies*, *The China Quarterly*, 69, pp. 75–108.

Blommaert, J. (1999) *The Debate is Open*, in J. Blommaert (ed.), *Language Ideological Debates*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bloor, M. (1997) *Techniques of Validation in Qualitative Research: a Critical Commentary*, in Miller, G., Dingwall, R. (Eds) *Context and Method in Qualitative Research*, London: Sage.

Borton, J. (2004) *Free Market Generates (some) Media Freedom*, *Asia Times*, July 21, available at: <http://atimes.com/atimes/China/FG21Ad01.html> (last visited July 28, 2013)

Bovee, W. G. (1999) *Discovering Journalism*, Greenwood Publishing Group

Brady, A. M. (2007) *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Branigan, T. (2010) Wang Keqin and China's Revolution in Investigative Journalism, *Guardian*, May 23, available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/may/23/wang-keqin-china-investigative-journalism> (last visited July 28, 2013)

Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, London & Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Bu, Yu (2010) Min Gong Tao Xin Bu Cheng Bang Jiang Gong Tou Liang Sui You Nv (Unpaid Migrant Workers Resort to Kidnapping Boss's Two Year Old Daughter), *Guangzhou Daily*, Aug 13, available at: <http://news.163.com/10/0813/09/6DV64L7N00011229.html> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Cai, Fang & Chan, Kam Wing (2009) The Global Economic Crisis and Unemployment in China, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 50, No.5, pp. 513-531.

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Report (2008) Migrant Labour Occupational Health and Safety Project, available at: http://www.smu.ca/webfiles/project_china_MLOHS.pdf (last visited June 4, 2013).

Cao, Tingjiang (2001) Hou Niao Shi Yun Dong de Ying Xiang Ji Qi Shu Dao (A new look at migrant workers, the influence of their spread like migratory birds), *Dang Zheng Gan Bu Lun Tan* (Cadres Tribune), No.11, pp.35-36.

Cao, Yaxiong (2008) Non Min Gong Bu Jia Ru Gong Hui de Yuan Yin Ji Dui Ce Fen Xi (Analysis of the Reasons and Countermeasures for Migrant Rural Workers' not Joining in Trade Union), *Wu Han Li Gong Da Xue Xue Bao* (Journal of Wuhan University of Technology), 21(6).

Ceglowski, C. & Stephen, J. (2007) Just How Low are China's Labour Costs?, *The World Economy*, Vol. 30, Issue 4, pp. 597-617.

Chan, A., Madsen, R. & Unger, J., (1992) *Chen Village Under Mao and Deng*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Chan, C. K. C. (2008) Emerging Patterns of Workers' Protest in South China, *China Labour Net*, available at: <http://worldlabour.org/eng/node/69> (last visited June 11, 2013)

Chan, C. K. C. (2010a) *The Challenge of Labour in China: Strikes and the Changing Labour Regime in Global Factories*. New York/London: Routledge, pp. 15.

Chan, J. M. (2003) Administrative Boundaries and Media Marketization: A Comparative Analysis of the Newspaper, TV and Internet Markets in China, in ChiaChuan Lee (Ed.), *Chinese Media, Global Context*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, pp.159–176.

Chan, K. W. & Buckingham, W. (2008) Is China Abolishing the Hukou System?, *China Quarterly*, No. 195, September, pp. 582-606.

Chan, K. W. (2010b) A Chinese Paradox: Migrant Labour Shortage amidst Rural Labour Supply Abundance, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 513-530.

Chan, K. W. (2010c) The Household Registration System and Migrant Labor in China: Notes on a Debate, *Population and Development Review*, 36(2): 357-364.

Chang, Wonho (1989) *Mass Media in China: the History and the Future*, Ames: Iowa University Press.

Cheek, T. (1997) *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chen, Feng (2003a) Between the State and Labour: The Conflict of Chinese Trade Unions' Double Identity in Market Reform, *the China Quarterly* (2003), 176, pp. 1006-1028.

Chen, Lidan (1997) Ma Ke Si Zhu Yi Xin Wen Li Lun de Li Shi Yan Bian (Historic Changes of Marxism Journalism), *Xin Wen Xue Yan Jiu* (Mass Communication Research), No. 55, pp.145-159.

Chen Lifelong & Guo Wansheng (2007) Shi Min Hua Bao Zhi Ru He Zou Chu Tong Zhi Hua Kun Jing (How evening newspapers survive homogenized competitions), *Xin Wen Qian Shao* (Journalism Front), February.

Chen, Wei (2003) Qing Nian Min Gong de Su Zhi Que Fa yu Jing Shen Bao Zhang (Lack of Morals amongst Young Migrant Workers and Spiritual Guidance), *Dang Dai Qing Nian Yan Jiu* (Modern Youth Research), No.4, pp. 9-16.

Chen, Xiangyang (2003) Min Gong Yi Gai Cheng Lao Gong (Migrant workers should be described as labourers instead of non-state workers), *Southern Weekly*, May 15, available at: <http://www.china-week.com/html/1711.htm> (last visited August 8, 2013)

Cheng, Yifeng & Wen, Yuanzhu (2002) Nong Min Gong Sheng Cun Xian Zhuang Sao Miao (The Situation of Migrant Workers), *Liao Wang* (Outlook Weekly), No. 19, pp. 28-30.

- Cheng, Yingqi (2010) Migrant Workers Equipped with Knowledge on AIDS, China Daily, Sep, 28, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-09/28/content_11356347.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Cheung, A. S. Y. (2007) Public Opinion Supervision: a Case Study of Media Freedom in China, Columbia Journal of Asian Law, Vol. 20, No.2, Spring, pp. 357-384.
- China Chemical Safety Association (2001) Discussion of an Accident at a Yunnan Chemical Plant, available at: <http://www.ynsafety.com/docshow.aspx?id=23821> (last visited June 4, 2013).
- China Labour Watch (CLW) Report (2007) The Long March: Survey and Case Studies of Work Injuries, available at: <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/globaldocs/830/> (last visited June 4, 2013).
- Cho, Li Fung (2010) The Origins of Investigative Journalism: The Emergence of China's Watchdog Reporting, edited by Bandurski, D., Hala. M & Chan. Y, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.
- Chu, J. C. Y. & Fang, W. (1972) The Training of Journalists in Communist China, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, September, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 489-497
- Cohen, M. (1993) Cultural and Political Inventions in Modern China: The Case of the Chinese Peasant, Daedalus, Vol.122, No. 2, Spring, pp.156.
- Collier, M. (2001) Approaches to Analysis in Visual Anthropology, in Leeuwen, T. V. & Jewitt, C. (Eds.), Handbook of Visual Analysis, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 35-60.
- Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (2001) The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest, Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Cui, Xuesong (2003) Tan Xi Min Gong Chao Wen Ti de Cheng Yin yu Jie Jue Tu Jing (Discussion on the Causes and Solutions of the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers), Jing Ji Shi (The Economist), No.5, pp. 43.
- Curran, J., Douglas, A & Whannel, G. (1980) The Political Economy of Human Interest Stories, in Smith, A. edited, Newspaper and Democracy, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 288-316.
- Davies, N. (2008) Flat Earth News, London: Chatto & Windus
- Daymon, C. & Holloway, I. (2002) Qualitative Research Methods in Public Relations and Marketing Communications, London: Routledge.

- de Burgh, H. (2003) *The Chinese Journalist: Mediating Information in the World's Most Populous Country*, London : RoutledgeCurzon.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989a) *Interpretive Biography*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989b) *The Research Act* (3rd ed.), Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Deng, Wei (2005) *Lun Mei Ri Yun Zuo Yi Shi Yu He Xie She Hui Gou Jian* (Discussing the Management of Media and Build a Harmonious Society), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in *He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren* (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.
- Deng, Xiaoping (1994) *Deng Xiaoping Wen Xuan* (Selected work of Deng Xiaoping), second edition, Beijing: People's publishing house.
- Ding, Ganlin (1997) *Da Xue Xin Wen Jiao Yu de Pei Yang Mu Biao yu Ke Cheng Ti Xi Ying Gai Zen Yang Que Ding* (How to Determine the Training Targets and Curriculum of University Journalism Education), *Xin Wen Da Xue* (The Journalism University), Winter, pp.70-73.
- Dong, X. & Bowles, P. (2002) Segmentation and Discrimination in China's Emerging Industrial Labour Market, *China Economic Review*, 13(2-3), pp. 170-96.
- Dunlevy, M. (1998) Objectivity, in M. Breen (Ed.), *Journalism Theory and Practice*, Paddington, NSW: Macleay Press.
- Edelman, M. (1974) The Political Language of the Helping Professions, *Politics and Society*, 4 (3), pp. 295-310.
- Ellerman, M.L. (2010) Book Reviews for "Yan Hairong, *New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China*", *China Perspectives* (Online), available at: <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/5087> (last visited August 26, 2013)
- Erickson, F. (1986) Qualitative methods in research on teaching, in Whittrock, M. C. (Ed.) *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed.), Old Tappan, NJ: Macmillan, pp. 119-161.
- Esarey, A. (2005) Concerning the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media, *Asia Perspective*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 37-83.
- Ettema, J. & Glasser, T. (1998) *Custodians of Conscience: Investigative Journalism and Public Virtue*, Columbia University Press, New York.

- Fairbank, J. K. & Goldman, M. (2006) *China: A New History*, Second Enlarged Edition, Harvard University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*, London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) Discourse and Text: Linguistic Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis, *Discourse and Society*, 3(2): 193-217.
- Fan, Y., Chen, N. & Kirby, D. A. (1996) Chinese Peasant Entrepreneurs: an Examination of Township and Village Enterprises in Rural China, *Journal of Small Business Management*, Vol. 34 (4), pp. 71-76.
- Fan, Y. Q. & Gahan, P. (2008) Unions as a Countermovement? New Forms of Union Organisation in China and the Regulation of Market Risk, *Managing the Social Aspects of Change from a Risk Perspective Conference paper*, Beijing, April 15th-17th.
- Fang, Hanqi (2002) *Zhong Guo Xin Wen Chuan Bo Shi* (Chinese Journalism & Communication History), Beijing: China People's University Publishing House.
- Fei, Aihua & Li, Guihua (2011) *Zheng Fu Mei Ti Gong Guan* (Government and Public Relations), Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Press.
- Fei, X. T., Hamilton G. G., & Zheng W. (1992) *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society*, A translation of Fei Xiaotong's *Xiang Tu Zhong Guo*, University of California Press.
- Feng Jianhua (2009) Explosion in Disputes, *Beijing Review*, No. 4, available at http://www.bjreview.com.cn/nation/txt/2009-01/20/content_175296.htm (last visited August 6, 2013)
- Fincher, L. H. (2012) Chinese Social Science, Stability and the State, *Footnotes*, Vol. 40, Issue.2, pp.5.
- Fine, G.A. & White, R.D. (2002) Creating Collective Attention in the Public Domain: Human Interest Narratives and the Rescue of Floyd Collins, *Social Forces* 81.1, pp. 57-85.
- Florence, E. (2006) Debates and Classification Struggles Regarding the Representation of Migrants Workers, *China Perspectives*, No. 65.
- Florence, E. (2009) Migrant Workers in the Pearl River Delta: Discourse and Narratives about Work as Sites of Struggle, in *Media, Identity, and Struggle in Twenty-first-century China*, edited by Murphy, R. & Fong, V. L., Publ. Routledge.

- Fong, V. L. & Murphy, R. (2006) *Chinese Citizenship: Views from the Margins* (eds.), Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1969) *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Franklin, B. (1999) *Misleading Messages: the Media and Social Policy*, in Franklin B. (Ed.), *Social Policy, The Media and Misrepresentation*, London: Routledge, pp. 1-13.
- Freidson, E. (1994) *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*, Cambridge, Polity Press, in association with Blackwell Publishers.
- Freidson, E. (2001) *Professionalism: the Third Logic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Friedman, H. (1980) *Household Production and the National Economy: Concepts for the Analysis of Agrarian Formations*, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 7, pp.158-184.
- Froissart C. (2005) *The Rise of Social Movements Among Migrant Workers*, *China Perspectives*, No. 61.
- Fu, D. (2009) *A Cage of Voices: Producing and Doing the Dagongmei in Modern China*, *Modern China*, Vol. 35, No. 5, pp.527-561.
- Gao, Changxin & Yu, Ran (2011) *Will Magic of Pay, Charm Stop Vanishing Act?* *China Daily*, Jan 26, available at: http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2011-01/26/content_11920975.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Gao, Jiangning (2010) *Xin Wen Bao Dao de Er Ci Shang Hai* (The Second Hurt Caused by News Reports), *Ji Zhe Yao Lan* (Journalist Cradle), No. 9.
- Gao, S. (2007) *Comparative Discourse Analysis between English and Chinese News Texts*, *Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 3, No.4.
- Ge, Jianxiong (2008) *Nong Min Gong de Cheng Hu Shi Zhong Guo de Chi Ru* (The name peasant workers brings shame to China), *Zhong Guo Jing Ying Bao* (China Business Management Newspaper), April, 1, available at: http://opinion.cnwest.com/content/2008-04/01/content_1196585.htm (last visited June 11, 2013)
- Gee, J. P. (1999) *Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, London: Routledge.
- Gillham, B (2000) *Case Study Research Methods*, London and New York: Continuum.

- Gluck, S. B. (1994) Remembering and Re-visioning: Lessons from Feminist Oral History in the United States, *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, 16, pp. 75-83.
- Goff, P. (2012) Tearing Down the Great Wall of Silence, *South China Morning Post*, August 10, available at: <http://www.scmp.com/article/516186/tearing-down-great-wall-silence> (last visited July 23, 2013)
- Golding, P. & Middleton, S. (1982) *Images of Welfare*, Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Guldin, G. E. (1992) *Urbanizing China*, New York: Greenwood Press.
- Gulyás, Á. (2001) Communist Media Economics and the Consumers: The Case of the Print Media of East Central Europe, *JMM-International Journal on Media Management*, 3(2), pp.74-81.
- Ha, Yanqiu (2005) *Zhong Guo Xin Wen Chuan Bo Shi* (Chinese Communication History Research), Beijing: China Broadcasting Publishing House.
- Hallin, D. C. (2000) La Nota Roja: Popular Journalism and the Transition to Democracy in Mexico, in Colin Sparks and John Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid Tales*, London: Rowman & Little- field.
- Hallin, D.C. & Mancini, P. (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hang, M. (2006) The History and Development of Media Economics Research in China, *Journal of Media Business Studies*, Volume 3, No.2.
- Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., & Newbold, C. (1998) *Mass Communication Research Methods*, London: Macmillan.
- Hardy, M. A. & Bryman, A. (2009) *Handbook of Data Analysis*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Hays, J. (2008) Unemployment and Unemployment Statistics in China, available at: <http://factsanddetails.com/china.php?itemid=1656&catid=9&subcatid=60> (last visited June 11, 2013)
- He, Changqin (2007) Diao Cha Jin Cheng Min Gong 4770 Ren, Ba Cheng Nian Shou Ru Bu Zu Wan Yuan (Survey of 4770 Migrant Workers: 80% Earn less than £1000 a Year), *Chong Qing Shang Bao* (Chongqing Commercial Daily), Mar 20, available at: <http://cq.qq.com/a/20070320/000170.htm> (last visited July 26, 2013)
- He, Jianxin, Zhao, Daijun & Hu, Jun (2005)) *Shi Lun Mei Ti zai Gou Jian He Xie She Hui Zhong de Si Da Gong Neng* (Four Functions of Media in Building a Harmonious Society), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in *He Xie She Hui He Mei Ti Ze Ren*

(Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.

He Qinglian (2008) *Fog of Censorship: Media Control in China*, Human Rights in China, New York.

He, Zhou (2000) Chinese Communist Party Press in a Tug of War: A Political Economy Analysis of the Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, in Lee, C.C. (ed.) *Power, Money, and Media: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 112–15.

He, Zhou (2003) How do the Chinese Media Reduce Organizational Incongruence? Bureaucratic Capitalism in the Name of Communism, In Chin-Chuan Lee (ed.), *Chinese Media, Global Context*. New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 198-214.

Hearns-Branaman, J. O. (2009) A political Economy of News Media in the People's Republic of China: Manufacturing Harmony? *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 6(2): 119-143

Henderson, S. (2007), *Neighbourhood* in M. Robb (ed), *Youth in Context: Framework, Setting and Encounters*, London: Sage Publications & The Open University, pp123-154.

Hille, K, Mitchell, T. & Dyer, G. (2010) Young Chinese Workers on Strike, *Financial Times*, July 16, available at: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/5554fda0-8fb0-11df-8df0-00144feab49a.html> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Hiller, H. H. & Di Luzio, L. (2004) The Interviewee and the Research Interview: Analysing a Neglected Dimension in Research, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Feb.

Holsti, O. R. (1969) *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Hong, Qiaojuan (2008) 4700 Wan Ti Zhi Xing Gua Fu Gan Ga Le Shui (Who should be Embarrassed by 47 Million Tizhixing Widows?), *Yang Cheng Wan Bao* (Yangchen Evening News), Dec, 3, available at: <http://www.mzyfz.com/news/times/b/20081208/162342.shtml> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Howell, J. (2009) Civil Society and Migrants in China, in *Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China*, Murphy, R. (ed.), Routledge, pp. 171-194.

- Hoy, C. (2009) Migration in China, Reproductive and Sexual Health Issues, in Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China, Murphy, R. (ed.), Routledge, pp. 116-136.
- Hoyle, E. (2001) Teaching: Prestige, Status and Esteem, Educational Management & Administration, 29 (2), pp.139–152.
- Hu, Huiting (2002) Family Planning Law and China's Birth Control Situation, China Daily, Oct 18, available at: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2002/Oct/46138.htm> (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Hu, Jintao (2012) Hu Jin Tao Shi Ba Da Bao Gao (18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Speech), Nov, 8, available at: http://news.china.com.cn/politics/2012-11/20/content_27165856.htm (last visited June 4, 2013).
- Hu, Lifeng (2007) Lun Du Shi Chuan Mei Bao Zhi Fen Lei Guang Gao Jing Ying Zhi Dao (Discussion about the Classified Advertising, China Advertising Website), China Saidi Website, available at <http://ad.qx100.com/html/200702/200727144539816.shtml> (last visited July 21, 2013)
- Hu, Xin (2002) The Surfer-in-Chief and the Would-be Kings of Content, in Media in China, Consumption, Content and Crisis, edited by Hemelryk, S. & Keane, M., RoutledgeCurzon.
- Hu, Yumeng (2010) Xin Wen Bao Dao Zhong de Hua Ming Xian Xiang (The Phenomenon of Using Pseudonyms in News Reports), Xin Wen Qian Shao (News Outpost), No. 5.
- Huang, Yuhao (2009) Zhang He Jing Tiao Lou Ji (The story of Zhang Hejin), Xin Jing Bao (New Beijing Times), June 10, available at: http://epaper.bjnews.com.cn/html/2009-06/10/content_368463.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Hughes, H. M. (1940) News and the Human Interest Story, The University of Chicago press.
- Huo, Haiyan (1999) Min Gong Chao Yin Fa de She Hui Mao Dun Tan Xi (Discussion about Social Conflicts Caused by the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers), Zheng Zhou Da Xue Xue Bao (Zhenzhou University Newspaper), Vol. 32, No.3, pp. 92-94.
- Jacka, T. (2000) My Life as a Migrant Worker: Women in Rural-Urban Migration in Contemporary China, Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context, Issue 4, September.

- Jacka, T (2006) *Rural Women in Urban China: Gender, Migration, and Social Change*, M E Sharpe Inc, Armonk USA
- James, C., Douglas, A. & Whannel, G. (1980) 'The Political Economy of the Human Interest story', in Smith, A. ed., *Newspapers and Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Jeffreys, E. (2004): *China, Sex and Prostitution*, New York: Routledge.
- Jensen, L. M. & Weston, T. B. (2006) *China's Transformations: the Stories Beyond the Headlines*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Jiang, Zemin (2001) *Lun Dang de Jian She (Works on Building the Party)*, Party Literature Publishing House, pp. 136-137.
- Johnstone, B. (2002) *Discourse Analysis*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kelliher, D. (1992) *Peasant Power in China: The Era of Rural Reform, 1979-1989*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kelman H.C. (1977) Privacy and Research with Human Being, *Journal of Social Issues*, 33(3), pp.169-195.
- Kochhar G. (2008) *China's Urban Poor: An Expanding Social Stratum*, Discussion Paper 37, The University of Nottingham, China Policy Institute.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology (2nd Edition)*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kuhn, R. L. (2010) China's Changing, Learning-Minded Party, *Forbes*, April 1, available at: <http://www.forbes.com/2010/01/04/li-yuanchao-china-communist-party-opinions-contributors-robert-lawrence-kuhn.html> (last visited July 28, 2013)
- Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, London: Sage Publications.
- Lam, T. (2009) Herding the Masses, Public Opinion and Democracy in Today's China, in *Media, Identity, and Struggle in Twenty-First-Century China*, edited by Murphy, R. & Fong, V. L., Routledge.
- Lang, Jingsong & Tong, Bing (2000) *Mao Ze Dong Xin Wen Si Xiang yu Deng Xiao Ping Xin Wen Li Lun Bi Jiao (Comparing Mao Zedong's Journalism Thoughts and*

Deng Xiaoping's Journalism Theory), *She Hui Ke Xue Zhan Xian* (Social Science Front), No. 6, pp. 90-94.

Larsen, C. A. & Dejgaard, T. E. (2013) The Institutional logic of Images of the Poor and Welfare Recipients: A Comparative Study of British, Swedish and Danish newspapers, *Journal of European Social Policy*.

Larson M.S. (1977) *The Rise of Professionalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Latham, K. (2009) SMS, Communication, And Citizenship in China's Information Society, in Murphy, Rachel and Fong, Vanessa L., (eds.), *Media, Identity, and Struggle in Twenty First Century China*, Routledge.

Lau, L. Qian, Y. Y. & Roland, G. (2000) Reform Without Losers: An Interpretation of China's Dual-Track Approach to Transition, *Journal of Political Economy*, 2000, vol. 108, No.1.

Lee, C. C. (1990) *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism*, New York: The Guildford Press.

Lee, C. C. (2005) The Conception of Chinese Journalists: Ideological Convergence and Contestation, in de Burgh, H. (ed.), *Making Journalists*, London: Routledge, pp. 107- 126.

Lee, C. K. (1998) *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lee, C. K. (2007) *Against the Law: Labour Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leedy, P. D. and Ormrod, J. E. (2001) *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (7th ed), Pearson Educational International and Prentice Hall: New Jersey.

Lei, Yuejie & Ha. Yanqiu (2002) *Deng Xiaoping Xin Wen Xuan Chuan Li Lun Yan Jiu* (Deng Xiaoping's Journalism Propaganda Theory Research), Beijing: Communication University of China Press.

Lester, P. M. (1991) *Photojournalism: An Ethical Approach*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Hillsdale, N J.

Lester, P. M. (1995) Photojournalism Ethics Timeless Issues, in Emery, M. & Curtis, T. (eds.), *Customized Readings in Mass Communication*. Dubuque, IA: W. C., Brown Publishers.

Levinsena, K. & Wien, C. (2011) Changing Media Representations of Youth in the News, a Content Analysis of Danish Newspapers 1953-2003, *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 14, No.7, pp. 837-851.

Li, Amy (2013) Beijing Says Party's Control of Press "Unshakable" After Southern Weekly Protest, *South China Morning Post*, January, 8, available at: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1122825/beijing-says-partys-control-press-unshakable-after-southern-weekly> (last visited July 16, 2013)

Li, Bin (2008) You Zhuan Jia Cheng Liu Shou Ee Tong Wen Ti Yan Zhong, Ke Neng Wei Ji Nong Cun de Wei Lai (Experts Claim the Problem of Left-behind Children is So Serious it Might Endanger the Future of Rural China), *Zhong Guo Qing Nian Bao* (China Youth Daily), June 3, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/edu/2008-06/03/content_8303382.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)

Li, Changjian & Cheng Zhanjiang (2005) Xin Sheng Dai Min Gong Fan Zui de She Hui Cheng Yin Ji Qi Kong Zhi (Social Reasons for Crime amongst the New Generation of Migrant Workers and Ways to Control it), *Nei Meng Gu She Hui Ke Xue* (Nei Meng Gu Social Science), Vol. 26, No. 6, pp.145-158.

Li, Chenggang (2009) Wei Lai Zui Ju Xiao Fei Bao Fa Li de Qun Ti shi Nong Min Gong (Migrant Workers will be the Most Powerful Consumers in the Future), *Zhong Guo Jing Ji Shi Bao* (China Economic Times), Nov 13, available at: http://lib.cet.com.cn/paper/szb_con/55275.html (last visited July 21, 2013)

Li, Gang, Guo, Yitao, & Liu, Tao (2004) Beijing Min Gong Qiang Jian An Zhan Liu Cheng, Chang Qi Xing Ya Yi Cheng Fan Zui Zhu Yin (60% of Rapes were Committed by Migrant Workers, due to Long-term Sexual Repression), *Beijing Youth Daily*, March, 28, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2004-03/28/content_1387987.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)

Li, Hongtao & Qiao, Tongzhou (2005) Wu Ming Hua Yu Tie Biao Qian, Nong Min Gong Qun Ti de Mei Jie Xing Xiang (Slander and Stereotypes: Migrant Workers' Media Image), *Er Shi Yi Shi Ji* (21st Century), No. 40.

Li, Jun (1990) Zhong Guo Gong Chan Dang Tong Xun Yuan Zhi Du de Li Shi Yan Bian (The Evolution of the News Correspondents' System in Communist China), *Xin Wen Yu Chuan Bo Yan Jiu* (News and Communication Research), No. 1.

Li, Kwok-sing (1994) A Glossary of Political Terms of the People's Republic of China, The Chinese University Press, Beijing.

Li, Liangrong (2012) *Xin Wen Xue Gai Lun* (A Brief Theory of Journalism), Fudan University Press, Shanghai.

Li, Lun & Sun, Baoguo (2005) *Hong Yang Xian Jin Wen Hua Gou Jiang He Xie She Hui* (Promoting Advanced Culture, Building a Harmonious Society), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in *He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren* (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.

Li, Qiang (2004) *She Hui Xue Bo Duo Li Lun Yu Wo Guo Nong Min Gong Wen Ti* (Deprivation theory and the problems of migrant workers in China), *Xue Shu Jie* (Academic World), No.4, July, pp. 7-22.

Liqin, Chen Shengli & Gao Jianguo (2001) *Nong Min Gong de Jie Ye Liu Dong yu Sheng Cun Zhuang Kuang* (The Working and Living Conditions of Migrant Workers) China Social Science Annual Conference Papers, Jinan: Jinan Social Science Literature Publishing House.

Li, Ruihuan (1989) *Jian Chi Zheng Mian Xuan Chuan Wei Zhu de Fang Zheng* (Stick to the Positive Propaganda), Xinhua News Agency, Nov 25, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2005-02/21/content_2600300.htm (last visited July 28, 2013)

Li, Wenan (2004b) *Cheng Shi Min Gong Fan Zui De She Hui Yin Su He Kong Zhi Dui Ce* (The Social Reasons Why Migrant Workers Commit Crime and Methods to Deal with it), *She Hui Ke Xue Ji Kan* (Social Scientists Periodical), No. 150, pp. 31-34.

Li, Xiaojing & Zhou, Long (2006) *Xin Wen Re Xian Zai Di Fang Min Sheng Xin Wen Zhong de Zhong Yao Zuo Yong* (The Important Role of News Hotlines in Local Everyday Life), *Xu Zhou Gong Cheng Xue Yuan Xue Bao* (Xuzhou Institute of Technology Journal), 21 (4).

Li, Xiguang (2006) *Zhi Zheng de Mei Ti Huan Jing Yu Fa Yan Ren Zhi Du* (Media Environment for the Governing and Spokespersons System), edited by Wang, Xingming & Li, Xiguang, in *Zheng Fu Fa Yan Ren 15 Jiang* (15 rules for Government Spokespersons), Beijing: Qing Hua University Publishing House.

Li, Xu (1995) *Bei Jing Wai Lai Liu Dong Ren Kou Guan Li Jiang You Fa Ke Yi* (Law to Manage Migrant Workers in Beijing), *Liao Wang* (Outlook Weekly), No. 16, pp. 12-13.

Li, Yi (2005) *The Structure and Evolution of Chinese Social Stratification*, University Press of America.

Liao, Hongle (2013) *Land Reforms and Agriculture Sector Productivity: Lessons from China*, Research Paper from Research Center for Rural Economy Ministry of Agriculture, P. R. China, available at: <http://www.adbi.org/files/>

[2013.09.12.cpp.day4.ssess1.1.hongle.agriculture.sector.prod.prc.pdf](#) (last visited April 21, 2014).

Lip, S.M., Tow, M., & Coleman, J. (1956) *Union Democracy: the Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union*, New York: Free Press, pp. 419-420.

Lippmann, W. (1991) *Public Opinion*, New Brunswick: Transaction.

Liu Chuanjiang & Chen, Jianlin (2008) *Di Er Dai Nong Min Gong Shi Min Hua* (The Urbanization of the Second Generation Migrant Workers), *Ren Kou Yan Jiu* (Population Research), Vol. 32, No. 5, September.

Liu, Hongpeng, Yang, Yuhua & Yin, Lijuan (2007) *Nong Min Gong Tao Xin You Duo Nan* (Difficulties for Migrant Workers Asking for Delayed Wages), *Liao Wang* (Outlook Weekly), No.7, pp. 6-9.

Liu, Fu & Zhang, Weimin (2004) *Wan Bao Xin Wen Xue* (Evening News Journalism), China Radio and Television Publishing House, Beijing.

Liu, Jianming (2003) *Xian Dai Xin Wen Li Lun* (Contemporary Journalism Theory), Beijing: Qinghua University Press.

Liu, Keqiao (2007) *Zhong Guo Min Gong Chao de Xian Zhuang yu Shu Dao* (The Current Situation of the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers and How to Solve These Problems), *Henan She Hui Ke Xue* (Henan Social Science), Vol. 15, No. 6, pp. 151-153.

Liu, Shaoqi (1998) *Dui Hua Bei Ji Zhe Tuan de Tan Hua* (Talk to the Northern China Press), *Xin Wen Zhan Xian* (News Front Magazine), Issue.12, pp.4-10. (Original work published in 1948)

Liu, Sheng (2011) *Wai Lai Wei Cheng Nian Ren Fan Zui Yan Zhong Duo Shu Nong Min Gong Wu Xia Gu Ji Zi Nv Jiao Yu* (More young migrant workers turning to crime), *China Youth Daily*, October 27, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/edu/2011-10/27/c_111126438.htm (last visited June 4, 2013).

Liu, Zheng (2010) *Quan Guo 2.3 Yi Nong Min Gong Yue Jun Shou Ru 1417 Yuan* (230 million Chinese Migrant Workers, with average Monthly Income 1417 Yuan), *Xinhua News Website*, Mar 23, available at: http://news.ifeng.com/mainland/201003/0323_17_1584674.shtml (last visited July 24, 2013).

Lu, Guoping (2007) *Xin Wen Zuo Pin Zhong de Hua Ming Shi Yong* (The Use of Pseudonyms in News Articles), *Xin Wen Ji Zhe* (News Reporter), No. 4.

Lu, Qiaoling (2005) *Cong Min Gong Huang Xian Xiang Kan Nong Min Cheng Shi Hua* (Analyzing the Phenomena of the Shortage of Migrant Workers to Discuss the

Urbanization of Migrant Workers), *Nong Cun Jing Ji* (Rural economy), No. 6, pp. 120-123.

Lu, Shaoqing & Zhang, Shouli (2004) Urban/rural Disparity and Migrant Children's Education: An Investigation into Schools for Children of Transient Workers in Beijing, *Chinese Education and Society*, 37(5): 56-83.

Lu, Xueyi (2007) Na Shen Me Cheng Hu Ni, Wo de Xiong Di (What Should I Name you, My Brothers), *People.com*, available at: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/30178/5688542.html> (last visited June 11, 2013)

Lu, Yiyi (2007) NGOs in China: Development Dynamics and Challenges, The University of Nottingham China Policy Institute, Discussion Paper 18.

Luo, Ling (2005) Fu Zhou Ruo Shi Qun Ti: Mei Ti Zai Gou Jian He Xie She Hui Zhong de Ying Jin Zhi Ze (Helping the disadvantaged people: Media's duty in Building a Harmonious Society), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in *He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren* (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.

Luo, Ming (2010) *Zhong Guo Fa Zhan Xin Wen Xue Gai Lun* (The Outline of the developments in journalism in China), Social Science Academic Press, Beijing.

Lynch, D.C. (1999a) Dilemmas of "Thought Work" in Fin-de-Siècle China, the *China Quarterly*, No. 157, pp.173-201.

Lynch, D.C. (1999) *After the Propaganda State Media, Politics, and Thought Work in Reformed China*, Stanford University Press.

Ma, L. J. C. & Xiang, B. (1998) Native Place , Migration and the Emergence of Peasant Enclaves in Beijing, *China Quarterly*, September, No. 155, pp. 68-103.

Ma, Qiuqian & Zhang, Jinsheng (2005) Shi Chang Hua Jin Cheng Zhong Xin Wen Cong Ye Zhe de Zhe Ye Dao De Guan (Professional Ethics of Journalists during the Commercialization of Chinese Media), *Xin Wen Ji Zhe* (Journalism Reporters), No. 3, pp. 23-26.

Macnamara, J. (2005) Media Content Analysis: Its uses; Benefits and Best Practice Methodology, *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), pp.1-34.

Mallee, H. (2000) Migration, Hukou and Resistance in Reform China, in *Chinese Society Change, Conflict and Resistance* , edited by Elisabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, Routledge.

- Mao, Zedong (1943) Guan Yu Ling Dao Fang Fa de Ruo Gan Wen Ti (Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership), Mao Ze Dong Xuan Ji (Selected Works of Mao Tsetung), Volume 3, Beijing: People's Press, pp.117.
- Mao, Zedong (1991) Zai Yan'an Wen Yi Zuo Tan Hui Shang de Jiang Hua (Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art), Mao Ze Dong Xuan Ji (Selected Works of Mao Tsetung), Volume 3, Beijing: People's Press, pp. 847-877.
- May, T. (2001) Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process (3rd edition), Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Mayer, S. E. (2003) What is a Disadvantaged Group?, Effective Communities Project, Minneapolis.
- McCormick, B. & Liu Qing (2003) Globalization and the Chinese Media: Technologies, Content, Commerce and the Prospects for the Public Sphere, edited by Lee, C. C., Chinese Media, Global Context, New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon.
- McGuire, W. J. (1974) Psychological Motives and Communication Gratifications, in The Use of Mass Communications, edited by Blumler, J. G. & Katz, E., pp. 167-196.
- McLeod, J. & Hawley, S. (1964) Professionalization Among Newsmen, Journalism, Quarterly, 41, pp. 529-538.
- McManus, J. H. (1994) Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware?, Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- McNally C. A. (2007) China's Emergent Political Economy: Capitalism in the Dragon's Lair, London: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. (1992) Media Performance, Mass Communication and the Public Interest, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Mead, S & Macneil, C. (2004) Peer Support: What makes it Unique? International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation, 10 (2), 29-37.
- Meng, Yuru (2008) Guan Yu Nong Min Gong She Hui Bao Zhang Wen Ti de Si Kao (Thoughts about Social Security Issues for Migrant Workers), Gong Ren Ri Bao (Workers' Daily), July 8, available at: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/d5fa9cc5bb4cf7ec4afed0cf.html> (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Meyers, M. (1997) News Coverage of Violence Against Women, Engendering Blame, London: Sage Publications.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mills, A. J., Durepos, G. & Wiebe, E. (2010) *Encyclopedia of case study research*, Vol. 2, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 43-45.

Morrison, T. (1992) *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mostyn, B. (1985) *The Content Analysis of Qualitative Research Data: A Dynamic Approach*, in M. Brenner, J. Brown & D. Cauter (Eds.), *The Research Interview*, London: Academic Press, pp.115-145.

Murphy, R. (2007) *The Paradox of the State-Run Media Promoting Poor Governance in China: Case Studies of a Party Newspaper and an Anti-corruption Film*, *Critical Asian Studies*, (39)1, pp. 63-88, Routledge.

Murphy, R. (2009) *The Paradox of the State-Run Media Promoting Poor Governance in China: Case Studies of a Party Newspaper and an Anti-corruption Film*, in *Media in China, Consumption, Content and Crisis*, edited by Hemelryk, S. & Keane, M., RoutledgeCurzon.

Murphy, R. (2009a) *Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China*, Routledge.

Myers, J. T. & Domes, J. (1989) *Chinese Politics: Documents and Analysis : Ninth Party Congress*, University of South Carolina Press.

Neuendorf, K. (2002) *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ngai, P. (2004) *Engendering Chinese Modernity: The Sexual Politics of Dagongmei in a Dormitory Labour Regime*, *Asian Studies Review*, June, Vol. 28, pp. 151-165.

Ngai, P. (2007) *Engendering a New Working Class: Social Trauma and Labor Resistance in China*, available at: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=70655> (last visited June 11, 2013)

Nielsen, I., Nyland, C., Smyth, R., Zhang, M. & Zhu, C. J. (2006) *Effects of Intergroup Contact on Attitudes of Chinese Urban Residents to Migrant workers*, *Urban Studies*, 143 (3), 475- 490.

Nielsen, I., Smyth, R. & Zhang, M. G. (2006) *Unemployment Within China's Floating Population: Empirical Evidence from Jiangsu Survey Data*, *Chinese Economy*, Vol. 39, pp. 41-56.

Nyiri, P. (2010) *Mobility and Cultural Authority in Contemporary China*, University of Washington Press.

Pai, H. H. (2012) China's rural migrant workers deserve more respect from the city-dwellers, *Guardian*, August 25, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/25/china-rural-migrants-more-respect> (last visited August 5, 2013)

Paltridge, B. (2000) *Making Sense of Discourse Analysis*, Gold Coast, Queensland: Antipodean Educational Enterprises.

Pan, Zhongdang (2000a) Improvising Reform Activities: The Changing Reality of Journalistic Practice in China, in Chin-Chun Lee (ed.), *Power, Money and Media: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China*, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 68-111.

Pan, Zhongdang (2000b) Spatial Configuration in Institutional Change: A Case of China's Journalism Reforms, *Journalism*, No. 1, pp. 253-281.

Pan, Zhongdang & Lu Ye (2003) Localizing Professionalism: Discursive Practices in China's Media Reforms, in Chin-Chun Lee (ed.) *Chinese Media, Global Contexts*, London: Routledge Curzon, pp. 215-236.

Pang, Zhenggao (2010) *Qi Lu Wen Hua Yan Jiu* (Research on Qi Lu Culture), Jinan: Qi Lu Shu She.

Parenti, M. (1986) *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*, New York: St. Martin's Press, pp.154-155.

Peng, Jian (2005) Shi Chang Hua Bao Zhi Ru He Jin Xing Ji Xiao Kao He (How to Determine the Quality of Journalists in a Commercial Newspaper), *Qing Nian Ji Zhe* (Youth Journalist), No. 5.

Peng, Shuxiang (2008) Min Sheng Xin Wen de Xing Qi Yuan Yi, Te Dian, Ji Qi Xu Yao Zhu Yi de Wen Ti (The Emergence of "Livelihood News), *Xin Wen Chuang* (News Window magazine), No.1.

Polumbiaum, J. (1990) China's Journalists as Aspiring Professionals, in Rogers Des Forges, Ning Luo and Yen-Bo Wu (Eds), *China: the crisis of 1989*, Volume 1. Buffalo, NY: Council on International Studies and Programs, State University of New York, pp. 183-197.

Polumbiaum, J. (1990a) The Tribulations of China? Journalists After a Decade of Reform, in *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism*, edited by Lee C. C., New York, NY: Guildford Press.

- Qiu, Huanling (2012) Jin Nian Lai Wo Guo Ren Wen Guan Huai Si Xiang Yan Jiu Shu Ping (The ideology of humanistic concern in contemporary China), Shan Dong She Hui Ke Xue (Shandong Social Sciences), No. 4, 2012, pp.119-122.
- Qiu, Yijiao (2010) Blooming Flowers, China Daily, June, 1, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-06/01/content_9914571.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Qu, Jing (2009) Zhong Guo Xin Wen Gong Zuo Zhe Zhi Ye Dao De Zhun Ze Xiu Ding Ban Quan Wen (The Newly-amended Chinese Journalistic Ethics Code), China News Agency, Nov 27, available at: <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/news/2009/11-27/1988722.shtml> (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Qu Jing & Zhao Yihong (2013) Chinese Press Income was Over 1.6 Trillion Yuan in 2013, Xihua News, July 9, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/zg/jx/2013-07/10/c_132527402.htm (last visited, August 6, 2013)
- Rao, Huixia (2005) Shi Lun Nong Min Gong de Lao Dong Jiu Ye Yu Quan Yi Bao Zhang (Discussion about Migrant Workers Job Opportunities and Social Security), Xue Shu Yan Jiu (Academic Research), No. 10, pp. 60-63.
- Redl, A. & Simons, R. (2002) Chinese Media – One channel, Two systems’, in Donald, S. H., Keane, M. & Hong, Y. (eds.) Media in China, Richmond: Curzon.
- Ren Ziling (2011) Lv Shi Jin Gong Di Wei Min Gong Wei Quan (The lawyers came to the Construction Site to Help Migrant Workers to Safeguard Their Rights) Hefei Evening News, December 6, http://epaper.hf365.com/hfwb/html/2011-12/06/content_502529.htm (last visited August 6, 2013)
- Rene, H. K. (2013) China’s Sent-Down Generation: Public Administration and the Legacies of Mao’s Rustication Program, Georgetown University Press, Washington.
- Reporters Without Borders (2013) Press Freedom Index 2011-2012, available at: <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2011-2012,1043.html> (last visited July 16, 2013)
- Richardson, J. E. (2007) Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riskin, C. (2000) China Human Development Report 1999: Transition and the State, United Nations Development Programme, Oxford University Press, p. 37.
- Roberts, K. (2001) The Determinants of Job Choice by Rural Labour Migrants in Shanghai, China Economic Review, 12(1), pp. 15–39.

Rubin, H. J. & Rubin I. S. (1995) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, London: Sage Publications.

Schoenhals, M. (1992) *Doing Things with Words in Chinese Politics: Five studies*, The Regents of the University of California, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Schroeder, D.A. (1995) *Social Dilemmas: Perspectives on Individuals and Groups*, Praeger.

Scott, J. C. (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press.

Seidman, I. (1998) *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (2nd ed.), New York: Teachers College Press.

Selden, M. (1979) *The People's Republic of China: Documentary History of Revolutionary Change*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Shaanxi Provincial Transport Department (2002) *Safety Regulations of Shaanxi Transportation Industry on Employing Migrant Workers (Trial Policy)*, available at: <http://review.jcrb.com.cn/ournews/asp/readNews.asp?id=119012> (last visited June 4, 2013).

Shandong Provincial Construction Department (2003) *Shandong Construction Work Management*, available at <http://china.findlaw.cn/fagui/xz/27/140919.html> (last visited June 4, 2013).

Shanghai Police Association (1998) *Te Da Cheng Shi Nong Min Fan Zui Wen Ti Yan Jiu* (Serious Criminal Offences Committed by Peasants in the Cities), *Gong An Yan Jiu* (Police Research), No. 5.

Shen, Tongxian (2010) *Min Gong Huang Yan Bian Cheng Min Gong Huang Fan Ying de Fa Lv Que Shi* (Swings from an excess to a shortage of migrant workers highlights the deficiency of the government legislation), *Fa Xue* (The Law), No. 1.

Shi, Jian (2011) *Xin Wen Xie Zuo Xin Shi Jiao* (A New Perspective of Writing Reports), Nanjing Normal University Press, Nanjing.

Shi , Wenlong (1998) *Qian Tan Jin Cheng Min Gong de Dao De Qu Xiang Ji Qi Yin Dao* (Discussion of the Moral Trends of Migrant Workers and How to Influence them), *Dao De Yu Wen Ming* (Morality and Civilization), No. 4, pp. 29-30.

Shi, Xiaolei (2013) *The 28th Chinese Evening Newspapers Association Conference was held in Nanjing*, *Yangzi Evening News*, May 25, available at: <http://>

www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqgj/jryw/2013-05-25/content_9132889.html (last visited August 6, 2013)

Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996) *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, White Plains, NY: Longman.

Sinn & Wang (2003) *Do Globalization and Migration Undermine Social Cohesion?* Paper presented at the Social Cohesion Conference at the University of Hong Kong, Nov, 28-29.

Skalla, N. M. (2004) *China's One-Child Policy: Illegal Children and the Family Planning Law*, *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, Dec 27, Vol. 30, No.1, pp. 329-363.

Smith C.J. (2000) *The Floating Population in China's Cities: A New Ethnic Underclass?*, *China's Economic Growth: the Impact on Regions, Migration and the Environment*, edited by Terry Cannon, Macmillan Press.

Sockett, H. T. (1996) *Teachers for the 21st Century: Redefining Professionalism*, *NASSP Bulletin*, pp. 22-29.

Solinger, D. (1999) *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Solinger, D. J. (1995) *The Floating Population in the Cities: Chances for Assimilation?* In *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China*, edited by Davis, Deborah S., Richard Kraus, Barry Naughton, and Elizabeth J. Perry. Washington D.C. and Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press.

Solinger, D. J. (1999) *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State and the Logic of the Market*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Sparks C. & Reading A. (1998) *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media*, London: Sage.

Sparks, C. (2000) *Introduction: The Panic Over Tabloid News*, in C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1-40.

Splichal, S. (1994) *Media beyond Socialism: Theory and Practice in East-Central Europe*, Boulder, San Francisco & Oxford: Westview Press

- Stalk, G. & Young, D (2004) How China Gets Our Business, The Washington Post, July 3, available at: <http://www.altfeldinc.com/pdfs/washingtonpost.pdf> (last visited July 26, 2013)
- Steiner, H. A. (1951) Current “Mass Line” Tactics in Communist China, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 45, No.2, June
- Stemler, S. (2001) An Overview of Content Analysis, Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation, 7(17).
- Stensaas, H.S. (1961) The Front Page Teenager: How 111 Dailies Treat Him. Journalism Quarterly, 38, pp. 373-375.
- Stigler, J.W., Gonzales, P., Kawanaka, T., Knoll, S. & Serrano, A. (1999) The TIMSS Videotape Classroom Study: Methods and Findings from an Exploratory Research Project on Eighth-Grade Mathematics Instruction in Germany, Japan, and the United States, U.S. Department of Education National Center for Educational Statistics: NCES 99-074, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Stockman, N. (2000) Understanding Chinese Society, Polity Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1983) Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehaviour (SACOM) Report (2009) Migrant Workers in the Construction Industry: Contract Labour in 21st Century -- the Largest National Private Developer, The New World China Land, Turn Blind Eye to the Chinese Labour Law, January, available at: <http://sacom.hk/archives/455> (last visited June 4, 2013).
- Sun, Boyang (2013) Nong Ming Gong Zong Liang 2.62 Yi Ren Wai Chu Nong Min Gong 1.63 Yi (There are 262 million migrant workers in China), Ren Min Ri Bao (People’s Daily), Feb 22, available at <http://finance.people.com.cn/n/2013/0222/c153180-20568933.html> (last visited July 31, 2013)
- Sun Changfeng (2008) Du Shi Bao de Fa Zhan (The Development of Metropolitan Newspapers), Qing Nian Ji Zhe (The Youth Journalists), June.
- Sun, Jinxia, Xiang, Kailai, Shen, Chenjie, et al. (2004) Guan Zhu Min Gong Sheng Cun Xian Zhuang: Fei Gong Qi Ye Quan Yi Diao Cha (Focusing on the Needs of Migrant Workers: Investigation of their Labour Rights), Ban Yue Tan (Fortnightly Discussion), No. 19.
- Sun, Ling (2008) Qian Xi Wan Bao Du Shi Bao de Tong Zhi Hua Xian Xiang (Discussion the Homogenized Competition among Different Evening Newspapers), Shang Ye Wen Hua (Business Culture, February).

Sun, Uking (2010a) Special Coverage China Population, China Daily, July 13, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-07/13/content_10100966.htm (last visited July 26, 2013)

Sun, Wangning (2009) *Maid in China: Media, Morality, and the Cultural Politics of Boundaries*, Routledge.

Sun, Yeshuai & Fu, Lianfeng (2008) Cong Nong Min Gong Qun Ti Kan Mei Ti de Ke Ji Chuang Bo (Media from Migrant Workers Perspectives), Qing Nian Ji Zhe (Youth Journalists Magazine), No. 31.

Sun, Zen (2010b) Poor Working Conditions Lead Migrants Home, Global Times, Mar 22, available at: <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90778/90862/6926165.html> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Suo, Youwei (2008) Nong Min Gong Gong Hui Hui Yuan Nian Di Jiang Da Dao Qi Qian Wan Ren (The Number of Unionized Migrant Workers will Reach 70 million by the End of This Year), China News Network, March 14, available at: <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/news/2008/03-14/1192444.shtml> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Szarkowski, J. (1980) *The Photographer's Eye*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Tajfel, H. (1978) Social Categorization, Social Identity and Social Comparison, in *Differentiation Between Social Groups*, Henri Tajfel ed., Cambridge, U.K.: Academic Press, 61-76.

Tan, Chengxun (2007) Nong Min Gong She Hui Xing Xiang Cuo Wei Yu Mei Jie de Cheng Shi Shi Jiao Wen Ti (Misrepresentation of Migrant Workers and Media's Urban Perspectives), Xin Wen Ai Hao Zhe (News Lovers magazine), No. 5.

Tan, Shuikui & Peng, Yanli (2003) The Problems and Solutions of Migrant Workers' Living Conditions, China Real Estate, No. 9, pp. 53-55, available at: <http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GFCD200309020.htm> (last visited July 26, 2013)

Tao, R. (2009) Hukou Reform and Social Security for Migrant Workers, in *Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China*, Murphy, R. (ed.), Routledge, pp. 73-95.

Tong, Jingrong (2011) *Investigative Journalism in China: Journalism, Power, and Society*, New York and London: Continuum, pp. 89.

Townsend, J. R. (1977) Chinese Populism and the Legacy of Mao Tse-tung, Asian Survey, Vol. XVII, Nov, pp.1011.

Tu, Chenxi & Chen, Wei (2007) Yao Shang Chun Wan de Min Gong He Chang Tuan (Migrant Workers Singers will perform at the Spring Festival Gala), Qian Jiang Wan Bao (Qian Jiang Evening News) available at: http://qjwb.zjol.com.cn/html/2007-12/18/content_1882307.htm (last visited 17 July, 2013)

Un, S. (2009) Floating as the Keyword: Chinese Independent Document Films in Post-socialist China, a thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in East Asian Studies, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto.

van Dijk, T. A. (1988) News as Discourse, Hillside, NJ: Erlbaum.

van Dijk, T. A. (1997) Discourse as Structure and Process of Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Volume I, London: Sage Publications.

van Dijk, T. A. (2002) Discourse and Racism, in Goldberg, D. T. and Solomos, J. (Eds) A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies, Wiley-Blackwell.

Voltmer, K. (2008) Comparing Media Systems in New Democracies: East Meets South Meets West, Central European Journal of Communication, pp. 23-29.

Walder, A. G. (1984) The Remaking of the Chinese Working Class, 1949-1981, Modern China, Vol. 10, No.1, pp. 3-48.

Wan, Jing (2012) Ba Wei Lv Shi Xue Zhe Zhi Xin Guo Wu Yuan Jian Yi Gai Bian Nong Min Gong Cheng Wei (Eight Chinese Scholars and Lawyers Wrote to the State Council and Suggested Abolishing the Term Nong Min Gong), Fazhi Daily, January 11, available at: <http://www.law-lib.com/fzdt/newshtml/shjw/20120111203628.htm> (last visited June 11, 2013)

Wand, D. W. & Cai, F. (2009) Migration and Poverty Alleviation in China, Murphy, R. (ed.), Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China, London, Routledge.

Wang, Chunguang (2010a) Xin Sheng Dai Nong Min Gong Cheng Shi Rong Ru Jin Cheng Ji Wen Ti de She Hui Xue Fen Xi (Analysing the Process of Migration of the New Generation of Migrant Workers from a Sociology Perspective), Qing Nian Tan Suo (Youth Explorer), No. 3, pp. 5-15.

Wang, Hongchun (2005) Cong Min Gong Huang Dao Min gong Huang: Chen Zhong de Li Shi Jin Bu (From the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers to the Shortage of Migrant Workers: the Hard Tide of History), She Hui Ke Xue Zhan Xian (Social Science Front), No.2, pp. 70-75.

Wang, Jiaqi (2010b) Nong Min Gong Tao Xin Bu Cheng Nu Sha Gong Tou Jia Ren 4 Sui Nv Tong Ye Bu Fang Guo (Unpaid Migrant Workers Kill Boss and Family, Including his 4 Year Old Daughter), Hei Long Jiang Chen Bao (Hei Long Jiang Morning Post), Sep10, available at: http://news.china.com.cn/law/2010-09/12/content_20910546.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Wang, Jing (2005) China: Space, Place, and Popular Culture, London & New York: Routledge.

Wang, Kai (2005a) Transition China: Media, Public Opinion and Public Policy, Fudan University Publishing House.

Wang, Ling (2005b) Jia Qiang Mei Ti Zai Gou Jian He Xie She Hui Zhong de Ze Ren Yi Shi (Improving Responsibility of Media in Building a Harmonious Society), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.

Wang, Mark (2010c) Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on China's Migrant Workers: A Survey of 2700 in 2009, Eurasian Geography and Economics, Vol. 51, No.2, pp. 218-235.

Wang, Qiaosheng (2010d) The Media Should be More Considerate when Reporting Violent Criminal Offences, Young Journalists Journal, June, available at: http://www.qnjz.com/gcypp/201007/t20100701_5687991.htm (last visited June 4, 2013)

Wang, Xuan (2010e) Shi Gu Wei Ji de Mei Ti Ying Dui (How To Deal With the Media When an Accident Happens), Xian Dai Zhi Ye An Quan (Modern Professionals Safety), No.1.

Wang, Yaping & Wang, Yanglin (2009) Housing and Migrants in Cities, in Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China, Murphy, R. (ed.), Routledge, pp. 138-153.

Wang, Yongzhong (2010f) Nong Min Gong Ru He Zhao Gong Zuo (How migrant workers find jobs), Ren Ming Ri Bao (Peoples' Daily), Jan 30th, available at: <http://www.chengbiancun.com/2010/0130/507.html> (last visited July 21, 2013)

Wang, Zhengmin (2010g) An Quan Wen Hua Jian She Yu Chuan Mei Ze Ren (Workplace Safety Issues and the Responsibility of Media), Zhong Guo Ji Zhe (Chinese Journalists), No. 2.

Weber, R. P. (1990) Basic Content Analysis (2nd ed.), Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Wei, Guoqian (2011) Da Zhong Bao Ye Ji Tuan, Zuo Qiang Bao Zhi Zhu Ye Chuang Xin Wang Luo Mei Ti (Dazhong Daily Group, Strengthen the Newspapers, Develop the New Media), Dazhong Website, available at: http://www.dzwww.com/2011/sdx/qdys/xqzs/201110/t20111017_6707961.htm (last visited July 31, 2013)

Wei, Wu (2003) Zhong Guo Nong Min Gong Jia Ru Gong Hui Zai Jian Nan Zhong Qi Bu (Difficult Process of Joining Trade Unions for Chinese Migrant Workers), Xinhua News Agency, Sep 21, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2003-09/21/content_1091779.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Wen, Tao (2010) Migrant Kids to Public Schools, Global Times, Jan 21, available at: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/metro-beijing/update/top-news/2010-01/500004.html> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Wheelock, A., Haney, W., & Bebell, D. (2000) What Can Student Drawings Tell us About High-stakes Testing in Massachusetts? TCRecord.org, available at: <http://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentID=10634> (last visited July 10, 2013).

Wilensky H. L. (1964) The Professionalization of Everyone? , The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, No.2, pp.137-158.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2000) Mass Media Research: an Introduction (6th ed.), Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Wolcott, H. F. (1994) Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Woronov, T. E. (2009) Migrant Children and Migrant Schooling, Policies, Problems and Possibilities, in Labour Migration and Social Development in Contemporary China, Murphy, R. (ed.), Routledge, pp. 96-114.

Wright, T. (2010) Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wu, Bing (2008) She Bao Zheng Ce Cheng Ji Lei Nong Min Gong Ci Gong Tui Bao Cheng Chao (Social Security Schemes for Migrant Workers are Ineffective, and Many Migrant Workers Have Dropped Out), Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily), Jan 8, available at: <http://life.people.com.cn/GB/1089/6745382.html> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Wu, H. X. & Zhou, L. (1996) Rural-to-Urban Migration in China, Asian-Pacific Economic Literature, Vol.10, Issue 2, pp. 54-67.

Wu, Jiao (2006) Sexual Suppression Frustrates Migrants, China Daily, Aug, 16, available at: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/MATERIAL/178081.htm> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Wu Xinxun (2007) Du Shi Xin Wen Xue (Metropolis Journalism), Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press, Shanghai.

Wu, Weiping (2002) Temporary Migrants in Shanghai: Housing and Settlement Patterns, in the New Chinese City: Globalisation and Market Reform, ed. by John R., Logan, pp. 212-26. Oxford: Blackwell.

Xia Haipeng (2005) Zai Wei Min Gong Wei Quan (Helping Migrant Workers Again), Wenzhou Evening News, Mar 29
http://wzwb.66wz.com/html/2005-03/29/content_898379.htm (last visited August 6, 2013)

Xiao, Chen (1994) Xiong Yong Er Lai de Min Gong Chao (Increasing Strength of the Tidal Wave of Migrant Workers), Dang Zheng Lun Tan (Party Forum), No. 4, pp. 37-38.

Xiao, Feng (2009) Dou Shi Nong Min: 30 Nian Cheng Shi Yu Nong Min de Jiu Ge (We are all Peasants: 30 Years of Collaboration between Urban Citizens and Migrant Workers), Xin Zhou Kan (New Weekly), No.5.

Xie, Chunlei (2002) Wai Lai Gong Zi Zhi Zu Zhi Chu Xian Nan Fang Rui An (Migrant Workers's Self-organization First Appeared in Ruian), Zhejiang, Nan Fang Zhou Mo (Nanfang Weekly), April 7, available at: <http://news.sohu.com/95/78/news201997895.shtml> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Xie, Honggui (2006) Lun She Hui Tong Cheng de Que Wei Yu Yu Yong Mo Hu (The Use of Social Titles), Chang Sha Hang Kong Zhi Ye Ji Shu Xue Yuan (Journal of Chang Sha Aeronautical Vocational and Technical College), No. 3, pp. 72-74.

Xinhua (2006) China Publishes Harmonious Society Resolution, October 19, available at: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2006/Oct/184810.htm> (last visited June 4, 2013).

Xinhua (2011) China Amends Law to Boost Occupational Illness Prevention, China Daily, December 31, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2011-12/31/content_14366922.htm (last visited June 4, 2013).

Xinhua (2011a) Criminal Offences Committed by Young Migrant Workers Spark Public Concern, Xinhua News Agency, February 25, available at: <http://>

english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/7300147.html(last visited June 4, 2013).

Xinhua (2014) Left-behind children desperate for Spring Festival homecomings, Xinhua News Agency, January 16, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-01/16/c_133051074.htm (last visited April 16, 2014)

Xing, Aiping (2013) Nong Min Gong Chun Jie Fan Tu, Jiong Tu Bian Tan Tu (Migrant Workers' Return Journey Became Easier), Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Bao (China Construction News), Feb 5, available at: http://m.wopaper.wo.com.cn/newslist/20130205066_1/ (last visited July 31, 2013)

Xu, Shengyi & Xu, Changhao (2011) Diao Cha Cheng Nong Min Gong Fan Zui Lv 5 Nian Sheng 2 Cheng Jin 7 Cheng Yin Yi Shi Chong Dong (A 20% Rise in Crimes Committed by Migrant Workers in the Last 5 years: 70% of these are Sudden Outbursts), Jiantao Daily, Jan 26, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/legal/2011-01/26/c_121025723_3.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Xu, Xun (2009) Beijing Shi Liu Dong Ren Kou Zi Nv Jiu Du Gong Ban Xue Xiao de Zhi Yue Yin Su Ji Dui Ce Jian Yi (Restriction of Access to Beijing Public Schools for Migrant Workers' Children and Suggestions for Improving Access), Xin Shi Ye (New View), No. 4, pp. 86-87.

Xu, Yu (1994) Professionalization Without Guarantees: Changes of the Chinese Press in Post-1989 Years, Gazette 53(1-2), pp.23-41.

Yan, Chijun (2007) Gun Zhu Nong Min Gong Xiao Fei Fang Shi de Ji Ji Bian Hua (The Changing of Migrant Workers' Consumer Habits), Xinhua Daily, Sep 3, available at: <http://wap.cnki.net/baozhi-XHRB20070903B072.html> (last visited July 21, 2013)

Yan Xiaohui (2010) Shan Dong Du Shi Bao, Ge Zhang Yi Xi Zhi Di (The Market Share of Evening Newspapers in Shandong), Zhong Guo Bao Ye Fa Xing Bao Gao Bai Pi Shu (China Newspaper Industry Report), available at: <http://news.sdchina.com/show/252992.html> (last visited July 10, 2013).

Yang, Xilong (2009) Ji Zhe Zheng Kao Shi de Xiang Guang Liu Cheng (How to get a press card), Xin Hua Net, available at: http://www.sn.xinhuanet.com/xhxy/2009-06/24/content_16904843.htm (last visited June 4, 2013).

Yao, Yuanming (2010) Lun Xin Wen Chuan Mei Jing Ying de She Hui Xiao Yi (The Social Effects of Media Management), Ha Er Bin Shi Fan Da Xue She Hui Ke Xue Xue Bao (Journal of Social Science of Harbin Normal University), No. 1.

- Ye, Hao (2006) Zheng Fu Xin Wen Xue (Government Journalism Study), Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Press.
- Ye, Hao (2007) Zheng Fu Xin Wen Xue An Li (Case Study of Government Journalism Study), Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Press.
- Ye Hao (2009) Zheng Fu Xin Wen Xue de Luo Ji Shu Li (The Logical Structure of Governmental Journalism), Nan Jiang She Hui Ke Xue (Social Sciences in Nanjing), No.8, pp.1-9.
- Yin, R. K. (2003) Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd ed.), Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Yu, Haiqing (2006) From Active Audience to Media Citizenship: The Case of Post-Mao China, Social Semiotics, Volume 16, Issue 2, June.
- Yu, Qiming & Chen, Jian (2005) Jing Shi Zhi Bo Ge An, Min Sheng Xin Wen Yu she Hui Ruo Shi Qun Ti de Li Yi Biao Da (A Case Study of Jingshi Live: Livelihood News and Reporting the Disadvantaged People), edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.
- Yu, Wujin (2001) Ren Wen Guan Huai, Ma Ke Si Zhe Xue De Ling Yi Ge Wei Du (Humanistic Concern, Another Dimension of Marxist Philosophy), Guang Ming Ri Bao (Guangming Daily), Feb, 6, available at: <http://www.guxiang.com/xueshu/others/zhexue/200104/200104210038.htm> (last visited June 11, 2013)
- Yuan, Xinwen (2007) Wan Yu Mian Fei Sheng Jin Qiu Ru Liu Suo Shi Da Nong Cun Sheng Yuan Bi Li 60.2% (60.2% students at normal universities are from the countryside), Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily), available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/edu/2007-07/26/content_6431740.htm (last visited June 4, 2013).
- Yuan, Yanfang (2005) Opening Speech at the Conference about Media's Responsibilities and Harmonious Society, edited by Liu, Jiuzhou, in He Xie She Hui Yu Mei Ti Ze Ren (Media's Responsibility and Harmonious Society), Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Publishing House.
- Zeng, Yali (2012) Ben Bao Qian Tou, Si Cheng Lian Shou Bang Ni Zhao Gong Zuo (Our Evening Newspaper will help you to find jobs), Jinling Evening News (Jinling Evening News), Feb 2, available at: http://jlwb.njnews.cn/html/2012-02/02/content_1151664.htm (last visited July 22, 2013)
- Zhan, Tao, Fan, Shihui & Li, Junyi (2011) Fu Du Tao Xin de Jing Shi: He Bei Nong Min Gong Tao Xin Bei Ju Fu Du Zi Sha Shi Jian Diao Cha (Investigation of a

migrant worker's suicide: wage disputes lead to his death), Xinhua.net, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/society/2011-01/30/c_121042061.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zhang, Chunlong (2000) Min Gong Yu Shi Min Chong Tu de She Hui Xue Fen Xi (Analyzing the Conflict between Migrant Workers and Urban Citizens from a Sociology Perspective), She Hui (Society), No.2, pp. 23.

Zhang, Guoli & Wang, Chenxi (2010) Shan Dong 18 Sui Qing Nian Lv Ci Tao Xin Wei Guo Bang Jia Sha Si Gong Tou Liang Er Zi (Unpaid 18 Year Old Migrant Worker Kidnapped Boss' Two Sons and Strangled them to Death), Qi Lu Evening News, Nov 1, available at: <http://unn.people.com.cn/GB/14790/21772/13104197.html> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zhang, Guozhi (2006) Cheng Shi Nong Min Gong Wei Quan Cheng Ben Ying Xiang Yin Su Yu Dui Ce Tan Xi (The Cost of Protecting Migrant Workers' Rights) , Centre for Chinese Urbanization Studies, Autumn-Winter Issue.

Zhang, Jinsheng & Luo, Qiong (2012) Bian Ge Zhong de Guang Zhou Bao Ye Shi Chang (The Changing Newspapers Market in Guang Zhou), Chuan Mei (Media), No. 4.

Zhang, Tian (2004) You Chang Xin Wen de Ben Zhi Shi Hui Lu (Paid Journalism is Bribery), Hang Zhou Ren Min Guang Bo Dian Tai (Hangzhou Radio Station), April 14, available at: <http://www.hangzhou.com.cn/20040101/ca404731.htm> (last visited July 28, 2013)

Zhang, Tianwei (2003): Li Qing Tuo Qian Nong Min Gong Gong Zi de Zhai Wu Lian (Claiming the Unpaid Migrant Workers' wages), Beijing Qing Nian Bao (Beijing Youth Daily), December 8, available at: <http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/OP-c/456767.htm> (last visited 17July, 2013)

Zhang, Weijian (1995) Wai Lai Qing Nian Min Gong Fan Zui de Te Dian Ji Dui Ce (Characteristics of Crimes Committed by Young Migrant Workers and How to Deal with Them), Qing Nian Tan Suo (Youth Explorer), No, 5, pp. 38-39.

Zhang, Yansong (2007) Xian Dai Jiao Ji Li Jie (Contemporary Communication Practice) available at: <http://www.liyi360.com/2010/1/18/bhejr.htm> (last visited June 11, 2013)

Zhang, Ye (2001) Migrant Women Workers and the Emerging Civil Society in China, Asia Foundation, San Francisco, 2001.

Zhang, Ying (2007) Gong Gong Zheng Ce Zhi Ding de Ying Xiang Yin Su Fen Xi, Yi Sun Zhi Gang Wei Li (On the Influence Factors of Making Public Policy: The

Case of Sun Zhigang as Example), Shan Dong Xing Zheng Xue Yuan Shan Dong Sheng Jing Ji Guan Li Gan Bu Xue Yuan Xue Bao (Journal of Shandong Administration Institute and Shandong Economic Management Personnel Institute), No.1.

Zhang Yuan, Liu Shiqing & Liu Liang (2011) Cheng Xiang Shou Ru Cha Ju, Min Gong Shi Ye Yu Zhong Guo Fan Zui Lv de Shang Sheng (The Income Gap between the City and the Countryside, Jobless Migrant Workers and the Increasing Crimes in China), Jing Ji Yan Jiu (Economy Research), No.2, pp. 59-72.

Zhang ShanShan (2013) San Ge Yue Bu Fa Gong Zi, Ben Bao Jie Ru Bang Tao Xin (Our Newspaper Helped Migrant Workers to Ask for their Delayed wages), Qi Lu Evening News, August 17, available at: <http://sjb.qlwb.com.cn/qlwb/content/20130817/ArticelJ08004FM.htm> (last visited August 6, 2013)

Zhang Xiaobo & Yupeng (2010) Shandong: Ren Kou Cha 420 Duo Wan Dao Yi Yi (The population of Shandong is about 100 million), Qilu Evening News, available at http://www.dzwww.com/shandong/sdnews/201105/t20110505_6343356.htm (last visited May 15, 2014)

Zhang Yuqiang (2010) 10 Years in Journalism (1998-2008), Communication University of China, Beijing.

Zhao, Yanxia (2007) Gai Shan Nong Min Gong Jiu Ye Xian Zhuang de Dui Ce Fen Xi (Analysing How to Improve Migrant Workers' Job Opportunities), Shang Chang Xian Dai Hua (Contemporary Commercial Markets), No. 491, pp. 380-38.

Zhao, Yuezhi (1998) Newspapers for the Market, Media Market and Democracy in China: between the Party Line and the Bottom Line, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Zhao, Yuezhi (2000) Watchdog on Party Leashes? Context and Implications of Investigative Journalism in Post-Deng China, Journalism Studies 1(4), pp. 557-597.

Zhao, Yuezhi (2008) Communication in China, Political Economy, Power and Conflict, Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Zhao, Yunlong (2013) Migrant Workers will Pay less House Tax to Buy a Flat in Jinan, Jinan Times, November 21, available at: <http://sd.house.sina.com.cn/news/2013-11-21/16332505757.shtml> (last visited May 16, 2014)

Zhao, Ziyang (1987) Yan Zhe You Zhong Guo Te Se de She Hui Zhu Yi Qian Jin (Make Progress, Following a Characteristically Chinese Socialist Way), Beijing: People's Publishing House.

Zheng Baowei (2007) Lixiang, Linian, Lixing, Jian Lun Xin Wen Gong Zuo Zhe de Rong Ru Guan (Lixiang, Linian, Lixing: The Glory and Disgrace of Journalists), Contemporary Communication, issue 1, pp.27-30.

Zheng Baowei (2010) Discussing the role and development of Journalism Study, the Communication University of China, Beijing.

Zheng, Fengtian (2010) 10 Crucial Issues Concerning New Migrant Workers, available at: http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2010-05/10/content_20009197_2.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zheng, Jingran (2010) More Young Migrant Workers Turning to Crime, China Daily, December, 23, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-12/23/content_11744634.htm (last visited June 5, 2013)

Zhong, Qing (2010) Qi Ye Zao Yu Yong Gong Huang (The Factories Encountered the Shortage of Migrant Workers), Henan Gong Ren Ri Bao (Henan Workers' Daily), Nov 29, available at: <http://theory.worker.cn/c/2010/11/29/101129160612193652430.html> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zhou, Jingwen (2010) Min Gong Hun Yin Ai Piao Bo Zai Xiang Cun Yu Cheng Shi Bian Yuan (Migrant Workers' Marriages, Floating between Rural and Urban Areas), Xinhua Daily, April 29, available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/society/2010-04/29/c_1263183.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zhu, Jiang Fen (2013) Projecting Potentiality: Understanding Maternal Serum Screening in Contemporary China, Current Anthropology, Vol. 54, p. 36-44.

Zhu, Chen (2010) Nong Ming Gong Zi Di Jiao Yu Zhong de Wen Ti (Problems of Migrant Workers' Children's education), Ren Kou Yu Jing Ji (Population and Economy), pp.5-6.

Zhu, Wentong (2005) Li Dazhao Zhuan (Biography of Li Dazhao), Tianjin Antique books publishing house, Tianjin.

Zhuang, Hongtao (2004) Guo Shuqing Wei Yuan, Nong Min Gong Cheng Wei Gai Gai Le (Guo Shuqing: the name peasant workers is no longer acceptable), Xihua News Agency, March 7, available at: http://www.china.com.cn/zhuanti2005/txt/2004-03/07/content_5511727.htm (last visited June 11, 2013)

Zhuang, Lijuan (2010) Higher Minimum Wage to Change China's Trade Policy, China.org.cn, available at: http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2010-06/17/content_20280470.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Zou, Jianhua (2007) *Ru He Mian Dui Mei Ti* (How to Deal with the Media), Shanghai, Fudan Press.

Notes

Note 1: China's Migrant Workers Top 225 Million, CHINA ECONOMIC NET, Mar. 26, 2009, available at: http://en.ce.cn/National/Politics/200903/26/t20090326_18617045.shtml. (last visited July 27, 2013)

Note 2: China's migrant workers rise in number to 115 million, Nov. 22, the official website of the Chinese Embassy in the United States, available at: <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/gyzg/t281206.htm> (last visited July 27, 2013)

Note 3: 2009 migrant workers report, available at: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjfx/fxbg/t20100319_402628281.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Note 4: Free films keep migrant workers off porn, Xinhua News Agency, available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-08/10/content_467806.htm (last visited July 27, 2013)

Note 5: (Source) Official Chinese Government websites, China Textile Net, available at: www.clb.org.hk/en/node/37347 (last visited July 27, 2013)

Note 6: **Sun Zhigang Case.** On March 20, 2003, 27-year-old Sun Zhigang died in the medical clinic of a detention centre in an area of south China (Chen, 2003). Sun was a Wuhan university graduate who had gone to Guangzhou to work. Three weeks later, as he walked to an internet bar, the police asked for his temporary living permit and his identity card. According to Custody and Return (C&R) regulations, police can detain people if they do not have a residence permit or temporary living permit, and return them to where they are originally from. C&R regulations are aimed at governing migrant workers. Sun had not applied for the permit and he had forgotten his ID card. He called his friends to bring his ID card. Three days later, a friend called his family and told them about his death.

Sun's family reported this information to the Southern Metropolitan Newspaper in Guangdong. Journalists found that the conditions within detention centres were worse than prisons, and beatings and prolonged detentions were used without trial. The police even used this system to kidnap and extort huge amounts of money from the families of the accused. An official autopsy at Zhongshan University showed a savage beating of his body 72 hours before the death. The case was widely reported by different media all over the country, and the public was very angry at this story. This put pressure on the Chinese government. On 20 June 2003, Premier Wen Jiabao announced that C&R regulations were abolished.

Note 7: **Southern Weekly Incident.** 2013 Southern Weekly Incident is a conflict between the Propaganda Department of Guangdong Province and Southern Weekly

over press freedom. Southern Weekly is a Guangzhou based newspaper that is respected for its hard-hitting investigative journalism. On January 3, editorial staff discovered that the front page annual New Year's editorial article had been altered by propaganda officials without their knowledge: the original piece had called for political reform and greater respect for constitutional rights; the published article, by contrast, praised Chinese Communist Party rule and included factual errors. The last-minute changes were allegedly made on the orders of Tuo Zhen, head of the provincial propaganda department. Moreover, according to staff, as many as 1,000 stories had been censored since Tuo assumed his position. Editorial staff exposed the New Year's affront on their microblog accounts and in open letters, demanding that the company's management investigate the incident. At the same time, open letters by former staff and former interns at the paper were posted online, criticizing the interference and calling for Tuo's resignation. As public attention grew, managers took over the paper's microblog account on January 6 and posted claims that the editors had in fact written the published New Year's editorial. The deliberate distortion prompted staff to go on strike that day. After further negotiations, the strike ended on January 8, and on January 10 the paper was published on schedule. (Source: Freedom House)

Note 8: **Sunbelt workers.** Originally, the "Sun Belt" is the region in the United States that stretches across the southern and southwestern portions of the country from Florida to California. Here, "sunbelt" are referred to south coastal region in China. Meantime, "rustbelt" are referred to northeastern region in China. "Rustbelt area" mainly mean the place where old industry locate. "Sunbelt area" mainly mean south export-oriented industrialisation locate. Workers in the Sunbelt of Southern China are called "sunbelt workers".

Appendix

Table 4.2 A Brief Summary of Interview Data

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Dong Cunqi | Senior manager at Jinan Times | <p>*Evening newspapers are a bridge between government and the civilians.</p> <p>*Guanxi can block the reports.</p> <p>*It is newspapers' responsibility to help migrant workers.</p> <p>*The planned news are not really news reports.</p> <p>*Newspapers have to protect their advertising clients, and not to report bad news about them.</p> <p>* We can play tricks to report the critical issues, but we cannot "cross the line".</p> <p>* The newspapers must obey the Party's rules.</p> <p>* The political control is much more loose now.</p> |
| Qiao ligang | Senior manager at Jinan Times | <p>*The evening newspapers should be kind, and help migrant workers.</p> <p>*In order to avoid the bad social influence, it is better not to report some negative news.</p> <p>*The newspapers should be "politically correct" first.</p> <p>* We decided how to name migrant workers.</p> <p>*We were encouraged to report a harmonious society by the Party, but it is not an order.</p> <p>* There is not a hostile relationship between the newspapers and propaganda department.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| Ke Qiang | Senior manages at Jinan Times | <p>*We have to give priority to our advertising clients.</p> <p>*The content of evening newspapers is very important in the competition.</p> <p>*Planned news can help to build newspapers' brands.</p> <p>*It is normal that newspapers protect their own advertising clients.</p> <p>*The evening newspapers have more freedom in choosing what to report now.</p> <p>*The evening newspapers have their own social responsibility.</p> |
| Wu qiong | Senior manager at Jinan Times | <p>* Journalist have learned to self -censor their reports.</p> <p>* Reports are influenced by both politics and advertising.</p> <p>* Helping the disadvantaged people has become the professional and motional sustenance.</p> <p>* Journalists help migrant workers out of their own humanity.</p> <p>* The Propaganda department is like a parent to the newspapers.</p> |
| Zhu Huali | Jouranlist at Jinan Times | <p>* I cared about migrant workers because I came from the countryside.</p> <p>* I adopted a caring writing style to write my articles.</p> <p>* Some news cannot be published because of the "Guanxi".</p> <p>* The political angle has to be right in the article.</p> <p>* I don't use "min gong" in my reports, and this word contains discrimination against migrant workers.</p> <p>* We always respect our interviewees.</p> <p>* We care about the livelihoods of people.</p> |

| | | |
|------------|---------------------------|---|
| Liu Gechun | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*I come from the countryside, and I am a “migrant” worker too!</p> <p>*Many news about migrant workers come from news hotlines.</p> <p>*We are often asked not to report migrant workers’ accidents’ reports by the property developers.</p> <p>*Journalists will learn what not to write about during their work.</p> <p>*I tend to write with humanity.</p> <p>*We are under a high working load and have to write at least 30 pieces a month.</p> <p>*Our managers usually tell us what not to write about.</p> |
| Pang de | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*We have to obey the rules.</p> <p>*All evening newspapers all over China care about migrant workers in recent years.</p> <p>*Charitable events can help newspapers to build their brands.</p> <p>*We have to care about the livelihoods of people, because they are our readers.</p> <p>*News in the four evening newspapers are quite similar.</p> <p>*We were asked not to miss any important news, or we will be fined.</p> <p>*We tend to protect our advertising clients.</p> |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|--|
| Xiao weidong | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*There were only 8 pages when Jinan Times was founded.</p> <p>*We tend to report the stories that our readers like.</p> <p>*We have more rules from the Propaganda department now.</p> <p>*Journalists are encouraged to bring in advertising clients.</p> <p>*We have had many more advertisements than before.</p> <p>*We cared little about migrant workers before. But now we realised that they are very important, and we care more about them.</p> |
| Yuan Liming | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*News about migrant workers is mainly obtained from news hotlines.</p> <p>*It is newspapers' social responsibility to help migrant workers solve their problems.</p> <p>*Many journalists, like me, come from countryside and we have an emotional attachment to them, and care about them.</p> <p>*Journalists should help to make the society better.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|---|
| Cao Libo | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*News correspondents from the local authorities usually provide us with news sources.</p> <p>*The word “peasant worker” contains discrimination against migrant workers.</p> <p>*We may have be told to change the words we use to describe migrant workers by related authorities.</p> <p>*We mainly obtain news about migrant workers via news hotlines.</p> <p>*There are many sensitive issues that we cannot report now.</p> <p>*We have to report with the aim of helping to solve the problems.</p> <p>*We have to obey the rules, and we also have to survive in the market.</p> <p>*We publish the stories that interest our readers.</p> |
| Yin Yiwen | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*The stories have to attract readers.</p> <p>*We cannot report some horrible crimes, in case they make people nervous.</p> <p>*We are told not to report negative news during important Party conferences.</p> <p>*Newspapers often show sympathy to migrant works and help them.</p> <p>*It is journalists’ responsibility to uphold justice.</p> <p>*Newspapers started to help migrant workers before the government helped them.</p> <p>*Organising charitable events can help newspapers build brands.</p> |

| | | |
|----------|---|---|
| Hua Bo | Journalist at Jinan Times | <p>*We are told not to report many sensitive issues.</p> <p>*The newspapers will not print negative news about major advertising clients.</p> <p>*Newspapers use charitable events towards migrant workers to build their brand, local officials use these events to build their positive images, and businessmen use these events to promote themselves.</p> <p>*I come from the countryside, and I can understand migrant workers' feelings.</p> <p>*We tend to report the disadvantaged people with humanity.</p> <p>*Half the accidents involving migrant workers at the construction sites were not published for the favour of the property developers.</p> |
| Xie Ning | Senior manager in charge of readers surveys, market research at Jinan Times | <p>*Our evening newspaper is a spiritual product.</p> <p>*Newspapers must publish articles that the readers are interested in.</p> <p>*Journalists must know their readers.</p> |

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| Wei Dongqiang | Senior manager in charge advertising at Jinan Times | <p>*Only influential newspapers can win more advertisements.</p> <p>*Newspapers have to think about how to benefit the society and make money at the same time.</p> <p>*Serious politically wrong articles can cause the newspapers to close down.</p> <p>*Migrant workers are our readers.</p> <p>*We have more classified advertisements now.</p> |
| Han Wei | Senior manager at Qilu Evening News | <p>*We have some rules, but these rules are not so important in producing a profitable newspapers.</p> <p>*We have to protect our advertising clients, because we have to survive first.</p> <p>*We have to be aware of the social impact of the positive news.</p> <p>*We tend to report more issues concerning peoples' livelihoods.</p> <p>*It is our social responsibility to help the disadvantaged people.</p> <p>*We cannot pursue a big circulation alone either.</p> |

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| Guo Shuren | Senior manager at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Charitable events organized by the newspapers can bring the newspapers and readers closer.</p> <p>*Newspapers can help solve some problems, and this is the power of media.</p> <p>*We have more planned news nowadays to build our brand.</p> <p>*A mature journalist can make his own judgement on what not to report.</p> <p>*Newspapers and government are neither enemies, nor friends, and they have to cooperate.</p> <p>*We need humanity in our reports.</p> <p>*Journalists with a countryside background tend to care more about migrant workers.</p> <p>*We live on the income of advertisements.</p> |
| Huang Feihong | Journalist at Qilu Evening News Used to work at the advertising department | <p>*We received some government funding in 1988.</p> <p>*Advertising seemed not so important to us when our newspaper was just founded.</p> <p>*We have many more pages than before.</p> <p>*Classified advertisements have become more and more important.</p> <p>*Migrant workers are our readers.</p> <p>*We tend to protect our advertising clients, and not to report negative news of them.</p> <p>*Money talks.</p> <p>*Newspapers' content is also very important.</p> |

| | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|---|
| Dong Fei | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Most stories about migrant workers have been obtained via news hotlines.</p> <p>*I feel happy if my reports can help the others.</p> <p>*We choose whom to help, and we don't help everyone.</p> <p>*We journalists have our idealism and dreams.</p> <p>*We organise charitable events to win more readers, and also this will help those people who need help.</p> <p>*We ought to report more positive news, to have a good social impact.</p> <p>*Helping people is more important than publishing a story, I think.</p> <p>*We must write with humanistic concern.</p> |
| Wang Bo | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Our managers decided what kind of charitable events that we should organize.</p> <p>*Some reports cannot be published because they may cause social unrest.</p> <p>*Some articles cannot be published out of a favour to the local officials.</p> <p>*Our readers are more concerned about peoples' livelihoods than the corruption of some officials.</p> <p>*Journalists should fulfil their social responsibilities.</p> |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Xie Huahua | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*We concern the social disadvantaged people, including migrant workers.</p> <p>*We should respect migrant workers.</p> <p>*Newspapers have their social responsibility</p> <p>*We have to serve for our readers.</p> <p>*It is one of our job to help migrant workers solve their problem.</p> <p>*Journalists will be fined if they miss to report some important news.</p> <p>*I have “news idealism”.</p> <p>*Our contents are mainly decided by the market and the readers.</p> |
| Cao Huaguang | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*We tend to write articles with humanistic concern.</p> <p>*Propaganda depart is not that scaring.</p> <p>*Some news cannot be published because they may damage the image of our city.</p> <p>*Many negative news is also make the local officials look bad.</p> <p>*We try to report news which can keep both the local authority and our readers happy.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---|
| Peng Lei | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Newspapers have to be politically correct.</p> <p>*The control from the Party on media is much loose now.</p> <p>*We depend heavily on advertisements now.</p> <p>*Our newspaper has not run as a business totally.</p> |
| Gao Qiang | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*I come from countryside and I care about migrant workers.</p> <p>*My reports always contain humanistic concerns.</p> <p>*We show sympathy to social disadvantaged people, and often organize charitable events to help them.</p> <p>*We reports less accidents and reports, to avoid negative social influence.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---|
| Qin Liubo | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Many articles cannot be published in order to protect our advertising clients.</p> <p>*We help readers solve their problems first.</p> <p>*Reporting stories about migrant workers can help us portray a positive image.</p> <p>*We have to build our newspapers' brand.</p> <p>*We have to publish good content to attract readers.</p> <p>*The word "peasant workers" contains discrimination against migrant workers.</p> <p>*We cannot cross the line, but we can report anything up to the line.</p> |
| Cao Yundi | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Some "guanxi" can block our reports.</p> <p>*It has become a normal thing that newspapers help people solve their problems.</p> <p>*We need to report more critical news for the reputation of our newspapers.</p> <p>*My sisters are migrant workers, and I came from the countryside.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---|
| Qin Liubo | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Many articles cannot be published in order to protect our advertising clients.</p> <p>*We help readers solve their problems first.</p> <p>*Reporting stories about migrant workers can help us portray a positive image.</p> <p>*We have to build our newspapers' brand.</p> <p>*We have to publish good content to attract readers.</p> <p>*The word "peasant workers" contains discrimination against migrant workers.</p> <p>*We cannot cross the line, but we can report anything up to the line.</p> |
| Cao Yundi | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Some "guanxi" can block our reports.</p> <p>*It has become a normal thing that newspapers help people solve their problems.</p> <p>*We need to report more critical news for the reputation of our newspapers.</p> <p>*My sisters are migrant workers, and I came from the countryside.</p> |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Jiang Leishi | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Migrant workers are socially disadvantaged people that we should help.</p> <p>*We try to publish more contents that interest our readers.</p> <p>*We are asked how to describe migrant workers...but I cannot remember where this regulation come from.</p> <p>*We have many more pages than before.</p> |
| Yin Wenhua | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*Our managers will tell us what not to write about.</p> <p>*We have to keep a good relationship with our advertising clients.</p> <p>*We try to keep the local authority happy by not reporting some negative news related to them, since we often get news sources from them.</p> <p>*The activities with our readers can bring our readers closer to us.</p> <p>*We solve the problem first for our readers, and it does not matter whether this can be reported or not.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Qu Yun | Journalist at Qilu Evening News | <p>*The reports should contain humanistic concerns.</p> <p>*Solving problems for people is more important than reporting this story.</p> <p>*Good reports will be awarded in our newspapers.</p> |
| Ai Feifei | Senior advertising manager at Qilu Evening News | <p>*We often organise some events for our advertising clients.</p> <p>*Newspapers' brands are very important to attract advertising clients.</p> <p>*Migrant workers are our readers, but not our main target readers.</p> <p>*Promotional ideas are very important in winning advertising clients.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|--|
| Jin Wuwen | Senior manager at Life Daily | <p>*One of the functions of our newspapers is serving the people.</p> <p>*We report little news on politics nowadays.</p> <p>*We don't always follow what the propaganda department asks.</p> <p>*Circulation and advertising are the two most important things that we care about.</p> <p>*We cannot cross the line.</p> <p>*Organizing charitable events helps the newspaper to build its brand.</p> <p>*We publish more contents that will interest our readers.</p> <p>*Good reports are ones who help solve the problems.</p> |
| Wu xiang | Journalist at Life Daily | <p>*I come from countryside and I show sympathy to them.</p> <p>*Most of news about migrant workers come from news hotlines.</p> <p>*We were asked what name should be used to describe migrant workers.</p> <p>*We have helped migrant workers ask for their delayed wages many times.</p> |

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Cheng Yinde | Former Journalist at Life Dailu | <p>*The character of evening newspapers is to care about the livelihood of people.</p> <p>*Newspapers organizing charitable events aim to build up their brands.</p> <p>*Many people turn to News hotlines to tell us their problems and wish us to help them.</p> <p>*Some regulations from the propaganda department can be bargained with.</p> |
| Jie Xing | Journalist at Life Daily | <p>*We have published a lot of human interest stories to attract readers.</p> <p>*We cannot repeat similar stories all the time.</p> <p>*We often help the socially disadvantaged people and it helps us to build a good image.</p> <p>*We have more pages in the newspaper than before, and we have to publish more long articles.</p> <p>*We publish touching news to win readers.</p> |

| | | |
|------------|------------------------------|--|
| Zhang Dong | Senior manager at Life Daily | <p>*Migrant workers turn to us to get help.</p> <p>*We were told by some authorities about how to describe migrant workers in our reports.</p> <p>*We have responsibility to speak for the ordinary people.</p> <p>*The best result is to solve the problem.</p> <p>*Some news cannot be published because the local authority thinks that it will damage the image of this city.</p> <p>*We will be fined if we miss some important news.</p> |
| Jin Lan | Journalist at Life Daily | <p>*I often write the stories of the ordinary people.</p> <p>*We often hold some activities with the local community, and these activities help to build the brand of our newspapers.</p> <p>*I have found a lot of interesting stories from ordinary people during these activities.</p> |

| | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| Ruan Qingle | Journalist at Life Daily | <p>*I tend to write articles with humanistic concern.</p> <p>*The name “peasant worker” contains discrimination against migrant workers.</p> <p>*The news which may cause negative social impact was blocked.</p> <p>*Journalists have to make their own judgement on what should be reported and what should not be reported.</p> <p>*One responsibility of journalists is to help solve problems.</p> |
| Gao Lei | Senior manager who is in charge of the sales at Life Daily | <p>*Newspapers cannot make money by selling more copies at all.</p> <p>*Newspapers survive by advertising.</p> <p>*The brand of newspapers is very important in winning advertising clients.</p> <p>*We have different offers to encourage readers to subscribe to our newspapers.</p> |

| | | |
|------------|--|---|
| Yang Shude | Journalist at Life Daily | <p>*Journalists are encouraged to know more about the ordinary people by the Party, and also ordinary people are our readers, we have to know them better.</p> <p>*We help people to solve the problems, and we also help the government to have less conflict with the public.</p> |
| Dong Deyi | Senior manager at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*All the evening newspapers have to obey the rules.</p> <p>*We have to write more news about the livelihood of people.</p> <p>*The ability of newspapers' self-censor has improved.</p> <p>*It is our responsibility to drop the news which may have a bad social impact.</p> <p>*Some migrant workers make more money than journalists.</p> <p>*We have to respect migrant workers, and protect their rights.</p> |

| | | |
|--------------|--|--|
| Lin Shuhua | Senior manager at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*All the evening newspapers have to obey the rules from the Party.</p> <p>*There are more types of advertisements now.</p> <p>*We usually won't publish negative news about our advertising clients.</p> <p>*Journalists will be fined if they miss any important news.</p> <p>*We decided not to use the names which contain discrimination to describe migrant workers.</p> |
| Fang Xiaowen | Senior manager at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*We must not annoy the local authorities.</p> <p>*About half of our journalists come from countryside.</p> <p>*Our advertising clients care whether our readers will be their potential buyers.</p> <p>*We have to protect our major advertising clients.</p> |

| | | |
|------------|--|--|
| Ji Xing | Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*We write about what the readers are interested to read.</p> <p>*It is our job to help people solve some problems.</p> <p>*It is our job to tell the authorities about the people's voices.</p> <p>*Journalists have to make their own judgement on what should be reported and what should not.</p> <p>*We should report news that will have a positive social impact.</p> <p>*We have be told how to name migrant workers correctly.</p> <p>*We have organised a lot of activities to help migrant workers.</p> |
| Li Fanghua | Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*Newspapers will win trust from their readers if they help them to solve their problems.</p> <p>*I have news idealism.</p> <p>*It is newspapers' responsibility to care about the socially disadvantage people.</p> <p>*We have been told which names should be used to describe migrant workers.</p> <p>*We have rules on what can be written about and what cannot.</p> |

| | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| Yang daoyi | Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*I come from the countryside</p> <p>*We have to care the livelihoods of people.</p> <p>*We have organised a lot of activities to send warmth to migrant workers.</p> <p>*We have been asked how to name migrant workers between 2004 to 2006.</p> <p>*We should not report stories which may cause negative social impact.</p> <p>*We try to avoid the sensitive issues since they are very difficult to handle.</p> <p>*Local authorities will be unhappy if we report negative news that happened in the local area.</p> |
| Ma Shanshan | Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*I rarely use “peasant workers” to describe migrant workers, and this word contain discrimination against them.</p> <p>*We have to be careful with language we are using to describe migrate workers, so as not to hurt them.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| Huang Gou | Photography Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*We have rules on the topics to write about.</p> <p>*We try not to cause a negative impact for our interviewees by not showing their face in the picture.</p> <p>*Many of my pictures cannot be published because they are negative images of this city.</p> <p>*"Guanxi" often block our reports.</p> |
| Gong Bing | Journalist at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*It is the journalists' job to help solve the problems.</p> <p>*Migrant workers often turn to us via news hotlines.</p> <p>*We feel happy if we can help the other people.</p> <p>*Trying to solve our readers' problems is our biggest task.</p> |

| | | |
|----------------|--|--|
| Qiu Zhikai | Journalist who is also in charge of the news hot lines | <p>*We mainly receive phone calls to ask us to help them solve problems.</p> <p>*News hotlines are a bridge between the readers and newspapers.</p> <p>*We care a lot about the livelihood of people.</p> <p>*We have to provide some free service to our readers via news hotlines.</p> |
| Chang Qingchun | Senior Advertising Manager at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*There is always a conflict between the editorial department and advertising department.</p> <p>*Advertising Clients are interested in “soft news” in the newspapers.</p> <p>*We will not touch the sensitive topics.</p> <p>*Our main job is to make money.</p> |

| | | |
|--------------|--|--|
| Feng Huaqiao | Senior advertising manager at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*We have many more classified advertisements than before.</p> <p>*A large portion of our classified advertisements relate to migrant workers.</p> <p>*Migrant workers are our readers.</p> |
| Xu Guangbo | Senior manager in charge of readers surveys, market research at Shandong Commercial News | <p>*We encourage our journalists to sell newspapers to their interviewees.</p> <p>*We have used different offers to get more subscribers</p> <p>*The newspaper's brand is very important.</p> <p>*We do protect our own advertising clients or major subscription clients, and report more negative news of those who are not our clients.</p> |

(All of the above names in Table 4.2 are pseudonyms)

Table 5.2 Themes of the Selected Articles

Jinan Times 1996

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|--|
| 1996/7/23 | 2 | 三民工水困井下七天获救 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 1996/7/23 | 2 | 打工妹偷雇主被判七年 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1996/7/22 | 1 | 一塔吊倾倒造成二死二伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 1996/7/20 | 2 | 此人好大胆！冒充刑警队长行骗 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1996/7/08 | 1 | 建筑先过环保关 否则别想晋职称 | Condemning migrant workers' lack of training |
| 1996/7/04 | 1 | 年仅十五岁 竟遭此凌辱 一云南少女被警方解救 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 1996/6/30 | 1 | 触目惊心的建筑安全 | Condemning migrant workers' lack of training |
| 1996/6/28 | 1 | 再就业，外地工别“乱插足” | Warning migrant workers not to take jobs from urban citizens |
| 1996/6/22 | 1 | 十四名刑事犯罪分子被依法严惩 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1996/6/07 | 2 | 让流动孩子就学义不容辞 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 1996/6/07 | 1 | 八名被拐少女昨日返乡 云南妹，请走好 | Migrant workers as victims |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|------------------------|--|
| 1996/6/05 | 1 | 如此施工太危险 | Condemning migrant workers' lack of training |
| 1996/6/03 | 1 | 工棚挨垃圾 污水四处溢 这样的地方能住人吗? | Criticizing migrant workers' hygiene standards |

Jinan Times 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-------------------|--|
| 2004/7/31 | A3 | 最低工资不包括加班费 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/7/30 | A27 | 爱心“包围”轻生包工头 | Migrant workers who need help |
| 2004/7/29 | A27 | 他只想要回那笔欠款 | Migrant workers who need help |
| 2004/7/26 | A3 | 我省31个省建立最低工资保障制度 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/7/25 | A24 | 肇事司机送自己进“班房” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/24 | A2 | 谁来保护高温下的劳动者 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2004/7/22 | A28 | 好心收留打工妹 老板被盗 500元 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/20 | A6 | 违规施工 致三人死亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/17 | A26 | 无端遭暴打 农民工被逼吃粪便 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/7/13 | A11 | 讨要工钱起纠纷 三男子严重烧伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/7/08 | A12 | 一工厂涉嫌雇佣童工 | Issue of child labour |
| 2004/7/07 | A11 | 民工溺水身亡 | Migrant workers' accident |
| 2004/7/03 | 4 | 本报联合劳动监察人员——为打工妹讨要血汗钱 | Media help migrant workers to get delayed wages |
| 2004/7/01 | A9 | 仓库打工，四少年监守自盗 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/29 | A9 | 丈夫被欠20万工钱 妻子爬上50米塔吊 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/29 | A13 | 自感打工赚钱难 盗窃电缆被刑拘 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/28 | A9 | 俩青年妄踏不归路 | Hard life of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/25 | A9 | 陪聊女抢外地客13万元 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/22 | A9 | 地下旅馆内女子身中五刀 持刀行凶的打工仔20分钟后落网 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/22 | A3 | 农民工可享受工伤保险 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2004/6/21 | A12 | 简易楼无护栏摔死打工者 协议补偿却迟迟不兑现 这笔补偿款何时能兑现 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/16 | A13 | 偷车不成 跑掉鞋子 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/13 | 7 | 找不到工作 夫妻闹了别扭 四川客跳河自杀获救 | Hard life of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/08 | A19 | 工地家贼真难防 厨师也敢偷钢筋 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/07 | A8 | 与工友斗气，一民工连抽8支雪茄——“烟神”中毒进了医院 | Migrant workers' accident |
| 2004/6/03 | A20 | 用哥哥身份证打工 弟弟被行政罚款600元 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/03 | A20 | 四男一女旅馆里吸毒 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/02 | A18 | 六民工坠地摔伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/02 | A18 | 工钱不好要 一怒爬塔吊 民工夫妇讨回10万元 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/02 | A21 | 外来工进青岛没了门槛 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/6/01 | A16 | 民工酒后一脚误入死神门 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/01 | A13 | 农民工返乡收麦 客运站迎小高峰 | Migration of migrant workers |

Jinan Times 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-------------------|--|
| 2010/7/30 | A1 | 大蒸笼 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/30 | A13 | 因高温停工 不得扣减工资 | Policies to protect migrant workers labour rights |
| 2010/7/29 | A18 | 三年内已建工会企业实行集体合同 | Trade Unions and migrant workers |
| 2010/7/28 | A36 | 收入“五色钱”户口是推手? | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/27 | A7 | 外来务工人员也是城市主人 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/26 | A12 | 桑拿天在此，凉爽退位 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/22 | A7 | 比居住证更重要的是权益的落实 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/22 | A15 | 以手刨土救出被埋工友 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/21 | A5 | 关爱“小候鸟”贵在拥有感恩之心 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/21 | A9 | 山东将取消暂住证，居住证“一证通” | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/7/18 | 6 | 23岁“淡定哥”吟诗作对卖凉粉 | Outstanding migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/17 | 37 | 中国青年农民工网开通 | Organizations to help migrant workers |
| 2010/7/16 | A4 | 济南欢迎你，“小候鸟”们！ | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/15 | A16 | 个体户须为雇工办工伤保险 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |
| 2010/7/15 | A20 | “候鸟”进城（图片） | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/14 | A13 | 住宿餐饮业最缺人 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/7/13 | A5 | 绿豆汤喝再多也代替不了高温补贴 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/12 | A12 | 酷暑下，泉城义工送来“消暑大礼包” | Media support migrant workers |
| 2010/7/10 | A4 | 气温超30度，12点到14点半停工 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/7/09 | A6 | 连问8处烈日下的劳动者均答“未领高温津贴现金” | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/09 | A15 | 57岁环卫工保洁时身体不适猝死 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/7/08 | A6 | 算津贴（图片） | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/07 | A6 | 高温津贴翻倍须防劳动强度跟着涨 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------------|--|
| 2010/7/06 | A5 | “高温假”，不能只是听起来很美 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/04 | A7 | 农民工痴迷“反笔书法”近30年 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2010/7/01 | A6 | 昼如蒸笼（图片） | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/6/27 | A19 | 我国流动人口达2.11亿 | Migration of migrant workers |
| 2010/6/23 | A10 | 三次抢车又弃车，他想撞死包工头 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/23 | A12 | 这名包工头是上网逃犯，帮人办暂住证时栽了 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/23 | A20 | 被拖欠工钱 百余农民工住烂尾楼17年 | Caring about the migrant workers' living conditions |
| 2010/6/17 | A1 | 济南给农民工放“高温假” | Policies to protect migrant workers labour rights |
| 2010/6/17 | A5 | 遇高温、大雨，工地得停工 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/6/09 | A10 | 农民工进了城一切就会如愿吗 | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/6/08 | A18 | 盛世名门工地多人群殴 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/6/08 | A18 | 为讨工伤补助，男子要跳楼 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------|---------------------|
| 2010/6/05 | 7 | 户口承载的福利可分步骤获得 | Hukou system reform |

Life Daily 1998

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|--------------------------|---|
| 1998/7/24 | 21 | 请保姆还是请钟点工 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 1998/7/17 | 3 | 外来妹让位“钟点工” | Migrant workers' job market |
| 1998/7/14 | 7 | 只因老板心太黑 打工妹卖血告老板 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 1998/7/10 | 3 | 雇工引来的祸端 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1998/7/06 | 1 | 打工仔：受伤不能自认倒霉 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 1998/6/30 | 3 | 一酒店女老板容留 卖淫被判刑 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1998/6/17 | 1 | 昨一打工仔不慎坠楼身亡 高空作业者注意安全 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 1998/6/09 | 16 | 打工妹：被悬挂的爱情 | Caring about female migrant workers' emotional life |
| 1998/6/09 | 1 | 济南30名民工食芸豆中毒 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|------------|--|
| 1998/6/08 | 3 | 军民同救五民工 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 1998/6/04 | 3 | 打工妹走进大学学外语 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 1998/6/04 | 3 | 打工仔写出第一封家书 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 1998/6/01 | 1 | 雇佣童工，违法 | Issue of child labour |

Life Daily 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------|--|
| 2004/7/29 | A9 | 首批农民技工上岗 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/7/27 | A14 | 民工子女的快乐天堂 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/26 | A3 | 交警围剿“黑三轮” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/22 | A9 | 小保姆讨工钱竟遭打 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------|---|
| 2004/7/16 | A3 | 民营“济南福源”能撑多久 | Organizations to help migrant workers |
| 2004/7/13 | A5 | 一包工头为讨薪成“火人” | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/12 | A7 | 女老伴横遭打工妹洗劫 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/10 | A8 | 拖欠工钱将入“诚信指标” | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/7/10 | A7 | 玻璃爆裂8民工被砸伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/7/10 | A7 | 围墙坍塌一民工险遭“活埋” | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/7/10 | A3 | 没钱，医院“婉拒”烫伤女 | Migrant workers who need help |
| 2004/7/03 | A7 | 高速路上撞死修路工逃逸 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|--------------|--|
| 2004/6/25 | A5 | 刚烈小川妹机警出“狼窝” | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/10 | A5 | 经十路没欠民工一分钱 | Protecting migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/6/04 | A5 | 三企业急“请”民工领工资 | Protecting migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/6/03 | A5 | 开工前缴工资保证金 | New policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2004/6/02 | A4 | 六岁乐乐想“补心” | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/01 | A11 | 富姐为偷钱保姆说情 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |

Life Daily 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|------------|------|--------------------|--|
| 2010/07/31 | 6 | 烈日当头， 一建筑工人中暑倒地 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/07/30 | A1 | “桑拿”（民工图片） | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|------------|------|---|---|
| 2010/07/30 | A10 | 拿什么呵护你们 烈日下挥汗如雨的师傅们 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/07/14 | A15 | “居住证”管理办法正在走立 法程序 外来人口有望享市民 待遇 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/07/13 | A5 | 施工时没系安全带失足坠楼 18岁空调安装工声名垂危 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/07/13 | A10 | 来济旅游的学生来了 打工的青年也来了 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2010/07/08 | A14 | 小吃一条街普陷招工困境 招个服务员比招经理还难 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/07/07 | B6 | 济南有个“包子西施”，网上 突然蹿红 她有一个梦想西餐 厅里继续卖包子 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2010/06/30 | A8 | 看看他们的脸 汗水止不住地流 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/06/29 | A14 | 满载石头地大货车从山上冲 下来 撞翻另一辆装着石头 的大货车 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/06/21 | A3 | 男子在小诊所输液后 莫名死亡 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/06/11 | A8 | 一小时查扣 12辆黑摩的 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/06/09 | A14 | 工人疏通管道被沼气熏晕 工友赶紧相救也被毒倒 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|------------|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2010/06/08 | A17 | 民工说老板不给工钱还打人 老板却说他们干活不行还无理取闹 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/06/07 | A7 | 酒店女保洁员 深夜莫名遭暴打 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/06/06 | 4 | 一工人不慎掉进搅拌机 众工友赶紧断电救出来 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/06/05 | 8 | 工人架上梯子抢修光缆 罐车通过时挂到光缆撞晕工人 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/06/03 | A10 | 济南西部最大马路劳务市场 死灰复燃 紧邻的新劳务市场则悄悄关门歇业了 | Migrant workers cause disruption to the city |
| 2010/06/02 | A6 | 满载渣土，大货倒在板房上 里面，两名工人还在睡梦中 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

Qilu Evening News 1998

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------|--|
| 1988/7/31 | 2 | 莱州农民建筑队进入中南海 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 1988/7/27 | 1 | 青工戏幼儿缺教养 | Antisocial behavior of migrant workers |
| 1988/7/21 | 1 | 流氓敲诈终落法网 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 1988/7/09 | 1 | 铜块冒充黄金 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1988/7/05 | 1 | 青岛出现八万多在职“失业”者 | Migrant workers taking local people's jobs |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1988/7/04 | 1 | 惠民一批农家女成为股东工人 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 1988/7/03 | 1 | 进城搞农务空手而归多 | Migrant workers' rush into the cities |
| 1988/6/14 | 2 | 城里人要改变就业观 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 1988/6/06 | 2 | 农民点数公共汽车票（图片） | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 1998/6/05 | 1 | 小保姆行窃家贼难防 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |

Qilu Evening News 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|--------------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/30 | A12 | 打工一年，孩子就地入学 青岛出台细则保障外来务工人员子女上学 | New policies to support migrant workers' children's education |
| 2004/7/29 | A12 | 高温天气让人们变懒 天热乐了钟点工 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2004/7/27 | A16 | 民工子女的快乐天堂（图片） | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/27 | A10 | 打工受伤最作赔100元 律师：此为违法约定，理应认定无效 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/26 | A11 | 结伴游泳陷入暗滩 打工仔舍命救同伴 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/7/22 | A12 | 农民钱袋里工资占大头 | Migrant workers' income |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 2004/7/20 | A12 | 只为方便去工地 三建筑工竟抢“奥迪” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/19 | E2 | 热心人要帮打工者维权 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/7/19 | A12 | 淄博建筑民工全入工会 | Trade Unions and migrant workers |
| 2004/7/19 | A10 | 民工上岗有了知识后盾 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/7/19 | A6 | “民工律师”为何状告民工 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/18 | A7 | 东营为民工办消防夜校 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/7/12 | A5 | 一打工妹为钱财伸毒手 抢劫 拘禁昔日“姐” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/10 | A4 | 200公斤大玻璃爆碎 五名民工 被割伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/7/09 | A9 | 工伤保险范围“大扩容” 农民工 也可上工伤保险 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |
| 2004/7/08 | A13 | 兖州打破户籍限制医保护面一 视同仁，农民工也可入城镇医 保 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |
| 2004/7/06 | A7 | 打工仔“卧底”擒劫匪 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/7/06 | A2 | 怎能让外来人员举木牌照相 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/04 | A7 | 确保农民工工资不被拖欠、克扣 枣庄实施劳务工资保证金制 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |
| 2004/7/02 | A13 | 身在异乡的游子有了自己的“家” 日照两千农民工入工会 | Trade Unions and migrant workers |
| 2004/7/02 | A13 | 50人一间“大宿舍”“卧室”中间是厨房 数百民工栖身烂尾楼 | Caring about migrant workers' living conditions |
| 2004/7/02 | A6 | 线杆倒地砸伤民工 教练车急送伤员入院抢救 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/29 | E3 | 两米铁架上跌落 一民工摔成重伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/29 | E5 | 给环卫工人查体 | Caring about migrant workers' health |
| 2004/6/29 | A12 | 5年培训农民工35万人次 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/6/28 | A8 | 夏令营情牵农民工子女 百名孩子将成首批免费受益者 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/28 | A6 | 吉普车栽进电缆沟 砸伤两名民工 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/27 | E1 | 来济打工险做“三陪” 16岁少女跳窗出逃获救助返家 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/26 | A7 | 东营 拖欠工资可打热线 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/6/25 | A14 | 宁阳新型农村合作医疗试点又出新招 外地打工看病回家报销 | Social security schemes for Migrant Workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/25 | A6 | 一民工坠地摔成重伤 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/24 | A6 | 一老人万元钱藏袜筒 打工妹不昧金还主人 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/6/23 | A14 | 这打工妹太有心计 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/17 | A14 | 三企业欠民工工资 一年不得接新工程 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/6/17 | A6 | 受伤女工讨公道 揭出违规食品厂 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/16 | A6 | 30米塔吊上坠下 两民工不幸身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/15 | A13 | 加快农村剩余劳动力转移 菏泽年内培训万余民工 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/6/15 | A6 | 被骗从事色情服务 民警突袭 解救6少女 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/11 | A14 | 青岛城阳区礼待打工者 外来妹成市民节贵宾 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/6/11 | A12 | “阳光工程”培训10万民工 | Migrant workers' training schemes |
| 2004/6/11 | A12 | 冒充交警行骗被识破 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/09 | A6 | 一青年坠地身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/07 | A11 | 女包工头爬塔吊讨工钱 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/06 | D3 | 这位司机，请善待民工 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/6/05 | A4 | 一民工讨工钱被打昏 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/04 | A14 | 日照港以奖励促技术进步 12名农民工获岗位补贴 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/6/04 | D10 | 带着病妻打工十年 | Outstanding migrant workers |
| 2004/6/02 | A6 | 5民工5米房顶上坠下 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

Qilu Evening News 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/31 | A2 | 一环卫工人中暑后身亡 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/7/30 | A6 | 高温福利，差别咋就这么大 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/30 | A7 | 职工高温福利难保障，执法无据，权益只是个传说 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/30 | C8/ C9 | “关爱城管保洁员子女”夏令营 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/29 | C16 | 脚一滑，他从脚手架上摔了下来 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/28 | B8 | 两天120余保洁员子女报名 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/27 | C6 | 给环卫工一个微笑，也是一种关爱 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/26 | C5 | 保洁员子女，这个暑假不寂寞 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/26 | A9 | 青岛外来工缺口为啥这么大 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/7/26 | A9 | 搅拌机短路“咬”住工人 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/24 | C3 | 环卫工子女报道引发市民关爱热潮 来我这免费读书 来我家过暑假吧 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/23 | C21 | “不给工钱就不让你出门” 十几名工人讨薪堵了一小区门 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/23 | C4/ C5 | 别人的暑假很多彩，他们的生活很无奈 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/22 | A7 | 在建楼房坍塌 工头妻子遇难 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/18 | A4 | 打工老汉 三万血汗钱汇错账户 | A singular adventure of a migrant worker |
| 2010/7/15 | C14 | 大热天高空作业遇险 装配工手心出汗遭电击 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/15 | A13 | 农民工陷入搅拌机 消防官兵破拆解救 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------|---|
| 2010/7/13 | C2 | 让农民工有尊严地索赔 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/13 | C2 | 尊重环卫工，就是尊重自己 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/12 | C8 | 女工身着病号服闹上工地 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/12 | C7 | 疑因抢活，务工青年砍伤同行 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/7/11 | C4 | 农民工子女游科技馆（图片） | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/10 | C2 | 农民工“高温假”再加一小时 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/9 | C20 | 58岁环卫工人烈日下猝死 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/7/8 | C6 | 天热也得干 不干没钱赚 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/7/7 | A2 | 高温下弱势群体更渴盼“阴凉” | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/6 | A5 | 高温来了，高温补贴在哪儿 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2010/7/4 | C4 | 温度不太高 但是很不爽 | Migrant workers as hard workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|------------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/1 | A7 | 施工人员挥汗如雨（图片） | Migrant workers as hard workers |
| 2010/6/29 | C7 | 烈日下，工人们在工作 | Migrant workers as hard workers |
| 2010/6/29 | A12 | “模范企业”195名工人患矽肺病 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2010/6/23 | B15 | 三次抢车，欲撞欠钱包工头 三次弃车，觉得这样做不值 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/18 | A12 | 百余农民工讨工钱 蜗居烂尾楼近17年 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/6/11 | C24 | 天桥区 严查“黑摩的” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/09 | A17 | “地板工资”合法，但不道德 | Migrant workers are being exploited by employers |
| 2010/6/09 | A2 | 户籍改革不应止于积分制入户 | Voice to get rid of the Hukou registration system |
| 2010/6/07 | A10 | 富士康员工每周至少休一天 | Policies to care about migrant workers' psychological health |
| 2010/6/02 | A13 | 28层高楼里得“管道族” | Caring about the migrant workers' living conditions |
| 2010/6/02 | A08 | 想偷摄像头，反被拍现行 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2010/6/01 | C10 | 夜深人静，厨师变成劫匪 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |

Shandong Commercial News 2002

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|------------|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2002/07/17 | 3 | 章丘“黑砖厂”栽了 | Migrant workers are being exploited by employers |
| 2002/07/12 | 4 | 读者谴责“黑砖厂” | Migrant workers are being exploited by employers |
| 2002/07/11 | 3 | 记者与公安联动 解救“黑砖厂”工人 | Media help migrant workers |
| 2002/07/10 | 2 | 劳务输出要做就业新增长点 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2002/07/05 | 6 | 安装防盗网触电坠楼 一民工当场身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2002/07/05 | 4 | 马路求职市场今起开始清理 | Migration management |
| 2002/07/04 | 5 | 沥青烫伤一民工 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2002/07/04 | 3 | 大厦把民工赶到马路上报道 追踪 谈判分歧较大 民工陷入困境 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2002/07/02 | 3 | 装修数月工钱一分未拿 正干着活又被赶出大厦 民工行李被扔马路上 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2002/07/01 | 5 | 一样的孩子 不一样的童年 (图片) | Caring about the children of migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|------------|------|------------------------------|---|
| 2002/06/30 | 5 | 电梯70米高空坠下 5名工人当场丧生 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2002/06/21 | 5 | 烈日炎炎 裸眼作业 民工兄弟，请保护眼睛 | Caring about migrant workers' health |
| 2002/06/12 | 9 | 雇个男保姆真难 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2002/06/09 | 4 | 工地：节约用水 泳池：禁止入内 民工洗澡无奈进砚泉 | Caring about migrant workers' living conditions |
| 2002/06/03 | 6 | 菜市场里的童年 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |

Shandong Commercial News 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/23 | 8 | 两男女钱杀死“小姐” | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/7/22 | 8 | 解放路一工地发生意外 电梯井坠落民工身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/7/19 | 2 | 农民工工资，偿付拖欠270亿 | Wage issues of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/17 | 22 | 无端遭暴打 被逼吃粪便 凌辱农民工事件令人发指 | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights |
| 2004/7/15 | 12 | 钟点工工资指导价提高 | Wage issues of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/14 | 7 | 务工人员女子夏令营“扬帆”赴京 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|--|
| 2004/7/13 | 13 | 留下字条出走 打工妹惊煞老板 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/7/13 | 11 | 工头提着油壶讨工钱 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/09 | 10 | “洗头妹”命丧洗头房 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/7/07 | 16 | “民工律师”状告民工侵犯背后 | Immorality of migrant workers |
| 2004/7/07 | 9 | “丢包”老骗局坑了打工妹 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/7/03 | 5 | 疲劳驾驶撞死施工工人 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/29 | 7 | 记者走近经十路建设者 | Media support migrant workers |
| 2004/6/28 | 26 | 打工农民被“重复抓捕” | A singular adventure of a migrant worker |
| 2004/6/25 | 10 | 出租车闯祸 粉刷工遭殃 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/19 | 7 | 12人“草台班子”色情表演 其中5个女孩未满18岁 | Migrant workers as victims |
| 2004/6/15 | 7 | 理发店女老板容留卖淫 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2004/6/11 | 9 | 这个民工命真大 七楼掉下无大碍 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2004/6/10 | 5 | 农民工工资一分钱没拖欠 | Wage issues of migrant workers |
| 2004/6/05 | 5 | 一民工闹市暴病亡 | Migrant worker died from a sudden illness |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 2004/6/03 | 3 | 农民工首次竞考省直公务员 | Outstanding migrant workers |

Shandong Commercial News 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/29 | A4 | 户籍限住打工者和毕业生 | Hukou system and migration |
| 2010/7/22 | C7 | 男子楼顶作业触电身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/22 | C7 | 头顶轰然塌方 沟中工人被埋 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/21 | A5 | 我省将推居住证“一证通” | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/7/16 | C6 | 揪心！又一空调工坠楼 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/16 | A11 | 富士康在我省急招3万工人 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/7/15 | A5 | 买万斤西瓜送建设者 | Urban citizens support migrant workers |
| 2010/7/13 | C6 | 县西巷暑期夏令营开班了 外来务工人员与城里孩子一样参加 | Caring about the children of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/13 | C5 | 施工男子不慎锯断股动脉 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/13 | C4 | 她借招聘行骗 他借应聘盗窃 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/12 | A8 | 惊险！施工塔吊拦腰折断 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/7/10 | A4 | 高温超37度，10点到16点停工 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/7/07 | A4 | 省城拟立法保护“高温劳动” | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/7/06 | C6 | 老人不让开空调 热走三保姆 | A singular adventure of migrant workers |
| 2010/7/02 | A6 | 流动人员医保可“全国漫游” | Social security schemes for migrant workers |
| 2010/7/01 | C1 | 酷热难耐（图片） | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/6/30 | A3 | 全省最高温38.8度 | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions |
| 2010/6/29 | B8 | 找上门的活干不完，工人不够用 家装市场生意逆市红火 | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/6/29 | C8 | 一月逮住49辆“山寨公交” 务工人员上班公交车发车晚 问题显现 | Urban traffic problem caused by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/23 | A3 | 被欠薪农民工烂尾楼住17年 | Caring about migrant workers' living conditions |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|--|
| 2010/6/15 | A2 | 温家宝：要把年轻农民工当成自己孩子 | Government leaders support migrant workers |
| 2010/6/13 | A10 | 外来务工人员纳入公租房范围 | Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights |
| 2010/6/12 | A4 | “民生就业”走进社区 | Helping migrant workers to get jobs |
| 2010/6/11 | C8 | 齐心合力（图片） | Migrant workers' contributions to the city |
| 2010/6/11 | C8 | “黑摩的”被查住三次，拘留！ | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/11 | A2 | “口袋户”符合政策可落户 | Migration management |
| 2010/6/10 | A12 | 美好的打工梦 | Migrant workers' accidents |
| 2010/6/07 | C8 | 省城家政出现“用工荒” | Migrant workers' job market |
| 2010/6/07 | C6 | 空调安装工四楼坠落身亡 | Work-related accidents among migrant workers |
| 2010/6/03 | C8 | 为讨薪装修工怒砸新居装修 | Labour disputes of migrant workers |
| 2010/6/02 | C9 | 瞪着摄像头，他动了贼手 没成想他的一举一动全被拍进了镜头里 | Crimes committed by migrant workers |
| 2010/6/02 | A3 | 济南拟推居住证停暂住证 | Migration management |

Table 5.4 Categorization of the Selected Articles

Qilu Evening News 1988

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|----|
| Positive | None | 0 | 0 |
| Neutral | Migrant workers' job market 3 Migrant workers as victims 1 | 4 | 40 |
| Negative | Migrant workers' rush into the cities 1 Antisocial behavior of migrant workers 1 Crimes committed by migrant workers 3 Migrant workers taking local people's jobs 1 | 6 | 60 |

Qilu Evening News 2004

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Positive | Caring about the migrant workers' living conditions 1 Caring about migrant workers' health 1 Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights 5 Outstanding migrant workers 6 Caring about the children of migrant workers 3 New policies to support migrant workers' children's education 1 Social security schemes for Migrant Workers 4 Migrant workers' training schemes 5 | 26 | 53.0 |

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Neutral | Migrant workers' job market 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 5 Migrant workers' income 1 Trade Unions and migrant workers 2 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 8 Migrant workers as victims 2 | 19 | 38.8 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 4 | 4 | 8.2 |

Qilu Evening News 2010

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Positive | Caring about migrant workers' working conditions 4 Caring about the migrant workers' living conditions 1 Caring about the children of migrant workers 7 Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights 4 Migrant workers as hard workers 3 Migrant workers are being exploited by employers 1 Voice to get rid of the Hukou registration system 1 Policies to care about migrant workers' psychological health 1 | 22 | 40.7 |
| Neutral | Migrant workers as victims 3 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 5 Migrant workers' job market 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 3 A singular adventure of a migrant worker 1 | 14 | 25.9 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 5 | 5 | 12.2 |

Life Daily 1998

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Positive | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights 1 Caring about female migrant workers' emotional life 1 Outstanding migrant workers 2 | 4 | 30.8 |
| Neutral | Work-related accidents among migrant workers 3 Migrant workers' job market 2 Labour disputes of migrant workers 1 Issue of child labour 1 | 7 | 53.8 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 2 | 2 | 13.3 |

Life Daily 2004

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Caring about the children of migrant workers 2 Migrant workers who need help 1 Protecting migrant workers' labour rights 3 Organizations to help migrant workers 1 New policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights 1 | 9 | 50.0 |
| Neutral | Migrant workers' training schemes 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 2 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 3 Migrant workers as victims 1 | 6 | 33.3 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 3 | 3 | 16.7 |

Life Daily 2010

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Outstanding migrant workers 2 Caring about migrant workers' working conditions 3 Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights 1 | 6 | 31.6 |
| Neutral | Migrant workers' job market 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 1 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 6 Migrant workers as victims 3 | 11 | 57.9 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 1 Migrant workers cause disruption to the city 1 | 2 | 10.6 |

Jinan Times 1996

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Caring about the children of migrant workers 1 | 1 | 7.7 |
| Neutral | Work-related accidents among migrant workers 2 Migrant workers as victims 2 | 4 | 30.8 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 3 Condemning migrant workers' lack of training 3 Criticizing migrant workers' hygiene standards 1 Warning migrant workers not to take jobs from urban citizens 1 | 8 | 61.5 |

Jinan Times 2004

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Positive | Media help migrant workers to get delayed wages 1 Migrant workers who need help 2 Caring about migrant workers' working conditions 1 Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights 1 Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights 3 Social security schemes for migrant workers 1 | 9 | 28.1 |
| Neutral | Labour disputes of migrant workers 3 Migrant workers' accident 2 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 3 Hard life of migrant workers 2 Issue of child labour 1 Migrant workers as victims 1 Migration of migrant workers 1 | 13 | 40.6 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 10 | 10 | 31.3 |

Jinan Times 2010

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Encouraging the protection of migrant workers' human and labour rights 7 Caring about migrant workers' working conditions 6 Caring about migrant workers' living conditions 1 Caring about the children of migrant workers 3 Outstanding migrant workers 2 Media support migrant workers 1 Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights 5 Organizations to help migrant workers 1 Social security schemes for Migrant Workers 1 | 27 | 75 |
| Neutral | Work-related accidents among migrant workers 1 Trade Unions and migrant workers 1 Hukou system reform 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 2 Migration of migrant workers 1 Migrant workers' job market 1 | 7 | 19.4 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 2 | 2 | 5.6 |

Shandong Commercial News 2002

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Media help migrant workers 1 Caring about the children of migrant workers 2 Caring about migrant workers' health 1 Caring about migrant workers' living conditions 1 Migrant workers are being exploited by employers 2 | 7 | 46.7 |
| Neutral | Migrant workers' job market 2 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 3 Migration management 1 Labour disputes of migrant workers 2 | 8 | 53.3 |
| Negative | None | 0 | 0 |

Shandong Commercial News 2004

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Protecting migrant workers' human and labour rights 1 Caring about the children of migrant workers 1 Media support migrant workers 1 Outstanding migrant workers 1 | 4 | 19 |
| Neutral | Labour disputes of migrant workers 1 Migrant workers as victims 6 Wage issues of migrant workers 3 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 2 A singular adventure of a migrant worker 1 Migrant worker died from a sudden illness 1 | 14 | 66.7 |

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|--|--------|------|
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 2 Immorality of migrant workers 1 | 3 | 14.3 |

Shandong Commercial News 2010

| Type | Themes | Number | % |
|----------|---|--------|------|
| Positive | Urban citizens support migrant workers 1 Caring about the children of migrant workers 1 Caring about migrant workers' working conditions 2 Caring about migrant workers' living conditions 1 Government leaders support migrant workers 1 Helping migrant workers to get jobs 1 Migrant workers' contributions to the city 1 Policies to protect migrant workers' labour rights 4 Social security schemes for migrant workers 1 | 13 | 40.6 |
| Neutral | Labour disputes of migrant workers 1 A singular adventure of a migrant worker 1 Hukou system and migration 1 Work-related accidents among migrant workers 6 Migrant workers' job market 3 Migrant workers' accidents 1 Migration management 2 | 15 | 46.9 |
| Negative | Crimes committed by migrant workers 3 Urban traffic problems caused by migrant workers 1 | 4 | 12.5 |

Table 6.1 Terms Used to Describe Migrant Workers

Jinan Times 1996

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|---|
| 1996/7/23 | 2 | 三民工水困井下七天获救 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 1996/7/23 | 2 | 打工妹偷雇主被判七年 | 打工妹(little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 何牡丹 (*Hemudan) |
| 1996/7/22 | 1 | 一塔吊倾倒造成二死二伤 | 伤员(the wounded) |
| 1996/7/20 | 2 | 此人好大胆! 冒充刑警队长行骗 | 男子(man) / 石岩 (*Shiyan) |
| 1996/7/08 | 1 | 建筑先过环保关 否则别想晋职称 | 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 1996/7/04 | 1 | 年仅十五岁 竟遭此凌辱 一云南少女被警方解救 | 少女 (young girls) / 王某(a certain Wang) |
| 1996/6/30 | 1 | 触目惊心的建筑安全 | 施工工人 (construction workers) |
| 1996/6/28 | 1 | 再就业, 外地工别“乱插足” | 外地工(workers from other places) / 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 1996/6/28 | 1 | 外来业户居有其屋 | 外来业户(people from other places) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|---|
| 1996/6/22 | 1 | 十四名刑事犯罪分子被依法严惩 | 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 王成夺 (*Wangchengduo) |
| 1996/6/07 | 2 | 让流动孩子就学义不容辞 | 流动人口(floating population) |
| 1996/6/07 | 1 | 八名被拐少女昨日返乡 云南妹，请走好 | 云南妹(young girls from Yunnan) / 少女 (young girls) / 白世珍 (*Baishizhen) |
| 1996/6/05 | 1 | 如此施工太危险 | 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 1996/6/03 | 1 | 工棚挨垃圾 污水四处溢 这样的地方能住人吗? | 建筑工人 (construction workers) / 流动人口 (floating population) |

Jinan Times 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|------------|--|
| 2004/7/31 | A3 | 最低工资不包括加班费 | 进城务工人员 (people who come into the cities for job) |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|------------------|--|
| 2004/7/30 | A27 | 爱心“包围”轻生包工头 | 包工头老王 (labour contractor old Wang) / 异乡人 (people who come from another hometown) |
| 2004/7/29 | A27 | 他只想要回那笔欠款 | 包工头老王 (labour contractor old Wang) / 民工 (non-state workers) / 工人 (workers) |
| 2004/7/26 | A3 | 我省31个省建立最低工资保障制度 | 职工 (unit staff) |
| 2004/7/25 | A24 | 肇事司机送自己进“班房” | 打工者 (people who are working for the bosses) / 曾某 (a certain Zeng) |
| 2004/7/24 | A2 | 谁来保护高温下的劳动者 | 劳动者 (labourers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) / 工人 (workers) |
| 2004/7/24 | A2 | 保洁员可避开太阳 | 保洁员 (cleaners) / 环卫工人 (sanitation workers) |
| 2004/7/22 | A28 | 好心收留打工妹 老板被盗500元 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 圆圆 (Yuanyuan) |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------|---|
| 2004/7/20 | A6 | 违规施工 致三人死亡 | 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/17 | A26 | 无端遭暴打 农民工被逼吃粪便 | 农民工(peasant workers) / 包继友(*Baojiyou) |
| 2004/7/13 | A11 | 三男子严重烧伤 | 三名男子(three men) / 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/08 | A12 | 一工厂涉嫌雇佣童工 | 童工(child labourers) / 工人(workers) / 外来务工人员(workers from other places) |
| 2004/7/07 | A11 | 民工溺水身亡 | 民工(non-state workers) / 滕州籍男子(man from Tengzhou) |
| 2004/7/03 | 4 | 本报联合劳动监察人员——为打工妹讨要血汗钱 | 打工妹(little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 李女士(Madam Li) |
| 2004/7/01 | A9 | 仓库打工，四少年监守自盗 | 打工的少年(young guys who are working for the bosses) / 张振海(*Zhangzhenhai) / 张维智(*Zhangweizhi) |
| 2004/6/29 | A9 | 丈夫被欠20万工钱 妻子爬上50米塔吊 | 工头马某(labour contractor a certain Ma) |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2004/6/29 | A13 | 自感打工赚钱难 盗窃电缆被刑拘 | 打工仔孙某(a young guy who is working for the boss called a certain Sun) |
| 2004/6/28 | A9 | 俩青年妄踏不归路 | 年轻人(young people) / 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 姑娘孙某(girl called a certain Sun) / 金某(a certain Jin) |
| 2004/6/25 | A9 | 陪聊女抢外地客13万元 | 陪聊女子(escort girl) / 康红梅(*Kanghongmei) |
| 2004/6/22 | A9 | 地下旅馆内女子身中五刀 持刀行凶的打工仔20分钟后落网 | 打工仔(young guys who are working for the bosses) / 许玉田(*Xuyutian) |
| 2004/6/22 | A3 | 农民工可享受工伤保险 | 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2004/6/21 | A12 | 简易楼无护栏摔死打工者 协议补偿却迟迟不兑现 这笔补偿款何时能兑现 | 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 刘茂民(*Liumaomin) |
| 2004/6/16 | A13 | 偷车不成 跑掉鞋子 | 一男子(one man) / 姚某(a certain Yao) |
| 2004/6/13 | 7 | 找不到工作 夫妻闹了别扭 四川客跳河自杀获救 | 四川籍男子(a man from Sichuan) / 魏某(a certain Wei) |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------|--|
| 2004/6/08 | A19 | 工地家贼真难防 厨师也敢偷钢筋 | 外地人陈某(a certain Chen from other places) / 民工模样的男子(a non-state worker-looking man) / 工地厨师(chef working at the construction sites) |
| 2004/6/07 | A8 | 与工友斗气，一民工连抽8支雪茄——“烟神”中毒进了医院 | 民工(non-state workers) / 男子(a man) / 张某(a certain Zhang) |
| 2004/6/03 | A20 | 用哥哥身份证打工 弟弟被行政罚款600元 | 打工仔(young guys who are working for the bosses) / 张某(a certain Zhang) |
| 2004/6/03 | A20 | 四男一女旅馆里吸毒 | 四川籍打工人员(people who are working for the bosses and who are from Sichuan) |
| 2004/6/02 | A18 | 六民工坠地摔伤 | 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/02 | A18 | 工钱不好要 一怒爬塔吊 民工夫妇讨回10万元 | 民工夫妇(non-state workers couple) / 四川女子苏女士(Madam Su from Sichuan) |

| Date | Page | Title | Theme |
|-----------|------|--------------------|--|
| 2004/6/02 | A21 | 外来工进青岛没了门槛 | 外来工(workers from other places) / 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 外来劳动者(labourers from other places) |
| 2004/6/01 | A16 | 民工酒后一脚误入死神门 | 民工(non-state workers) / 冯某(a certain Feng) |
| 2004/6/01 | A13 | 农民工返乡收麦 客运站迎小高峰 | 农民工(peasant workers) / 民工(non-state workers) |

Jinan Times 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------------|---|
| 2010/7/30 | A1 | 大蒸笼（图片说明） | 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 2010/7/30 | A13 | 因高温停工 不得扣减工资 | 高温作业者(people who are working in hot environment) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-------------------|---|
| 2010/7/28 | A36 | 收入“五色钱”户口是推手？ | “蚁族” (ant tribe) / 农家子弟(peasants' children) / 外来务工人员(workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/27 | A7 | 外来务工人员也是城市主人 | 外来务工人员(workers from other places) / 卖菜孕妇(the pregnant woman who sells vegetables) |
| 2010/7/26 | A12 | 桑拿天在此，凉爽退位 | 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2010/7/22 | A7 | 比居住证更重要的是权益的落实 | 外来务工人员(workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/22 | A15 | 以手刨土救出被埋工友 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/21 | A5 | 关爱“小候鸟”贵在拥有感恩之心 | 小候鸟(little migratory birds) / 外来务工人员(workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/21 | A9 | 山东将取消暂住证，居住证“一证通” | 流动人口(floating population) |
| 2010/7/18 | 6 | 23岁“淡定哥”吟诗作对卖凉粉 | “淡定哥”(the Danding brother) / 小贩 (street peddlers) / 小伙子(lad) / 宋鑫 (*Songxin) |
| 2010/7/17 | 37 | 中国青年农民工网开通 | 农民工(peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------------|---|
| 2010/7/16 | A4 | 济南欢迎你, “小候鸟”们! | 打工的(people who are working for the bosses) / 小候鸟(little migratory birds) / 外来人员(people from other places) |
| 2010/7/15 | A16 | 个体户须为雇工办工伤保险 | 员工(staff) |
| 2010/7/15 | A20 | “候鸟”进城 (图片) | 候鸟(migratory birds) / 打工父母 (parents who are working for the bosses) / 农村留守儿童(children left behind in the rural areas) |
| 2010/7/14 | A13 | 住宿餐饮业最缺人 | 农村进城务工人员 (people who come into cities for jobs from rural areas) |
| 2010/7/13 | A5 | 绿豆汤喝再多也代替不了高温补贴 | 环卫工人(sanitation workers) / 职工(unit staff) / 户外作业的劳动者(out door workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/12 | A12 | 酷暑下，泉城义工送来“消暑大礼包” | 农民工(peasant workers) / 工人(workers) / 农民工兄弟姐妹(peasant workers brothers and sisters) / 环卫工人程元芳(sanitation worker *Chengyuanfang) / 环卫工人老张(sanitation workers Old Zhang) / 老人家(polite term for old people) / 环卫工人张丽红(sanitation worker *Zhanglihong) / 交通协管员老陈(traffic warden assistant Old Chen) |
| 2010/7/10 | A4 | 气温超30度，12点到14点半停工 | 作业人员 (construction workers) / 施工人员(construction workers) |
| 2010/7/09 | A6 | 连问8处烈日下的劳动者均答“未领高温津贴现金” | 作业人员 (construction workers) / 劳动者 (labourers) / 保洁员 (sanitation workers) / 建筑工人 (construction workers) / 安保人员 (security guards) |
| 2010/7/09 | A15 | 57岁环卫工保洁时身体不适猝死 | 环卫保洁员陈成爱 (sanitation worker * Chenchengai) |
| 2010/7/08 | A6 | 算津贴（图片说明） | 施工人员 (construction workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/07 | A6 | 高温津贴翻倍须防劳动强度跟着涨 | 工人 (workers) |
| 2010/7/06 | A5 | “高温假”，不能只是听起来很美 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2010/7/04 | A7 | 农民工痴迷“反笔书法”近30年 | 农民工郑彦生 (peasant worker *Zhengyansheng) |
| 2010/7/01 | A6 | 昼如蒸笼（图片说明） | 无(non) |
| 2010/6/27 | A19 | 我国流动人口达2.11亿 | 流动人口(floating population) |
| 2010/6/23 | A10 | 三次抢车又弃车，他想撞死包工头 | 一男子(one man) / 叶某(a certain Ye) |
| 2010/6/23 | A12 | 这名包工头是上网逃犯，帮人办暂住证时栽了 | 包工头(labour contractor) / 男子(men) / 孙某(a certain Sun) |
| 2010/6/23 | A20 | 被拖欠工钱 百余农民工住烂尾楼17年(图片说明) | 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2010/6/17 | A1 | 济南给农民工放“高温假” | 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2010/6/17 | A5 | 遇高温、大雨，工地得停工 | 工人(workers) / 职工(unit workers) |
| 2010/6/09 | A10 | 农民工进了城一切就会如愿吗 | 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2010/6/08 | A18 | 盛世名门工地多人群殴 | 工人(workers) / 王安均(*Wanganjun) |
| 2010/6/08 | A18 | 为讨工伤补助，男子要跳楼 | 一男子(one man) / 张某(a certain Zhang) |
| 2010/6/05 | 7 | 户口承载的福利可分步骤获得 | 外来人口(people from other places) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------------|--|
| 1998/7/24 | 21 | 请保姆还是请钟点工 | 小保姆(little nanny) |
| 1998/7/17 | 3 | 外来妹让位“钟点工” | 外来妹(littler sisters from other places) |
| 1998/7/14 | 7 | 只因老板心太黑 打工妹卖血告老板 | 打工妹邓春玲 (little sister who is working for the boss *Dengchunling) ／打工仔韩耀(a young guy who is working for the boss*Hanyao)／ 打工仔朱仁义(a young guy who is working for the boss *zhurenyi) |
| 1998/7/10 | 3 | 雇工引来的祸端 | 临时工 (temporary workers)／陈越波 (* Chenyuebo) |
| 1998/7/06 | 1 | 打工仔：受伤不能自认倒霉 | 打工仔 (young guy who are working for the bosses) ／农民工(peasant workers)／聊城籍青年(a young guy from Liaocheng) |
| 1998/6/30 | 3 | 一酒店女老板容留 卖淫被判刑 | 外地女青年 (young women from other places) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------------------|--|
| 1998/6/17 | 1 | 昨一打工仔不慎坠楼身亡 高空作业者注意安全 | 打工仔(young guys who are working for the bosses) / 装饰工(decoration workers) / 杜谋(a certain Du) / 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) |
| 1998/6/09 | 16 | 打工妹：被悬挂的爱情 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses / 钱冬冬(*Qiandongdong) / 赵允(Zhaoyun) |
| 1998/6/09 | 1 | 济南30名民工食芸豆中毒 | 民工(non-state workers) |
| 1998/6/08 | 3 | 军民同救五民工 | 民工(non- state workers) |
| 1998/6/04 | 3 | 打工妹走进大学学外语 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 黄秀云(*Huangxiuyun) |
| 1998/6/04 | 3 | 打工仔写出第一封家书 | 打工仔 (young guys who are working for the bosses / 王某(a certain Wang) |
| 1998/6/01 | 1 | 雇佣童工，违法 | 童工(child labourers) / 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) |

Life Daily 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------|---|
| 2004/7/29 | A9 | 首批农民技工上岗 | 农民技工 (peasant technicians) / 孙金凤 (*Sunjinfeng) |
| 2004/7/27 | A14 | 民工子女的快乐天堂 | 民工子女(non-state workers' children) / 外来务工人员子女(children of workers from other places) |
| 2004/7/22 | A9 | 小保姆讨工钱竟遭打 | 小保姆李静 (little nanny *Lijing) |
| 2004/7/16 | A3 | 民营“济南福源”能撑多久 | 外来务工人员 (workers from other places) / 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/13 | A5 | 一包工头为讨薪成“火人” | 包工头(labour contractor) / 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/12 | A7 | 女老伴横遭打工妹洗劫 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses / 吕某(a certain Lv) |
| 2004/7/10 | A8 | 拖欠工钱将入“诚信指标” | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------|---|
| 2004/7/10 | A7 | 玻璃爆裂8民工被砸伤 | 民工(non-state workers) / 姓陶的民工 (a non-state worker whose surname is Tao) |
| 2004/7/10 | A7 | 围墙坍塌一民工险遭“活埋” | 民工(non-state workers) / 赵某(a certain Zhao) |
| 2004/7/10 | A3 | 没钱，医院“婉拒”烫伤女 | 打工女(a lady who is working for the boss) / 苏丽(*Suli) |
| 2004/7/03 | A7 | 高速路上撞死修路工逃逸 | 工人(workers) |
| 2004/6/25 | A5 | 刚烈小川妹机警出“狼窝” | 四川少女 (young girls from Sichuan) / 李某 (a certain Li) |
| 2004/6/10 | A5 | 经十路没欠民工一分钱 | 民工(non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/04 | A5 | 三企业急“请”民工领工资 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/03 | A5 | 开工前缴工资保证金 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------|--|
| 2004/6/02 | A4 | 六岁乐乐想“补心” | 打工的女子 (girls who are working for the bosses / 李光芝 (*Liguangzhi) |
| 2004/6/01 | A11 | 富姐为偷钱保姆说情 | 小保姆王小莲 (little nanny *Wangxiaolian) |

Life Daily 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|------------------------------|--|
| 2010/07/31 | 6 | 烈日当头， 一建筑工人中暑倒地 | 建筑工人 (construction workers) |
| 2010/07/30 | A1 | “桑拿”（图片说明） | 施工的农民 (peasants who are working at the construction sites) |
| 2010/07/30 | A10 | 拿什么呵护你们 烈日下挥汗如雨的师傅们 | 师傅们 (masters) / 刘姓建筑工人 (a construction worker whose surname is Liu) / 工人(workers) |
| 2010/07/14 | A15 | “居住证”管理办法正在走立法程序 外来人口有望享市民待遇 | 外来人口(people from other places) |
| 2010/07/13 | A5 | 施工时没系安全带失足坠楼 18岁空调安装工声名垂危 | 空调安装工(air-conditioner installers) / 小伙子(lad) / 小杜 (little Du) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|---|--|
| 2010/07/13 | A10 | 来济旅游的学生来了 打工的青年也来了 | 打工的青年 (young guys who are working for the bosses) / 刘 秀(*Liuxiu) / 刘 青山 (*Liuqingshan) |
| 2010/07/08 | A14 | 小吃一条街普陷招工困境 招个服务员比招经理还难 | 来自农村的服务 员 (attendants who come from rural area) |
| 2010/07/07 | B6 | 济南有个“包子西施”，网上 突然蹿红 她有一个梦想西餐 厅里继续卖包子 | 包子西施(Buns Xishi) / 王春霞 (*Wangchunxia) / 打拼者 (people who are working hard) |
| 2010/06/30 | A8 | 看看他们的脸 汗水止不住地流 | 施工的工人 (construction workers) / 建筑 工人 (construction workers) |
| 2010/06/29 | A14 | 满载石头地大货车从山上冲 下来 撞翻另一辆装着石头 的大货车 | 驾驶员(drivers) |
| 2010/06/28 | A11 | 价格没谈拢，市民锁了搬家 工 | 搬家工人 (furniture removal & transport company workers) |
| | A3 | 男子在小诊所输液后 莫名死亡 | 泰安籍男子(a man from Tai'an) / 刘万才 (*Liuwancai) |
| 2010/06/09 | A14 | 工人疏通管道被沼气熏晕 工友赶紧相救也被毒倒 | 工人 (workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|---|--|
| 2010/06/08 | A17 | 民工说老板不给工钱还打人 老板却说他们干活不行还无理取闹 | 民工 (non state workers) / 工人 (workers) |
| 2010/06/07 | A7 | 酒店女保洁员 深夜莫名遭暴打 | 保洁员 (sanitation workers) / 刘兰 (化名) (*Liulan)(under a false name) |
| 2010/06/06 | 4 | 一工人不慎掉进搅拌机 众工友赶紧断电救出来 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/06/05 | 8 | 工人架上梯子抢修光缆 罐车通过时挂到光缆撞晕工人 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/06/03 | A10 | 济南西部最大马路劳务市场 死灰复燃 紧邻的新劳务市场 则悄悄关门歇业了 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2010/06/02 | A6 | 满载渣土，大货倒在板房上 里面，两名工人还在睡梦中 | 工人(workers) |

Qilu Evening News 1988

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------|--|
| 1988/7/31 | 2 | 莱州农民建筑队进入中南海 | 农民建筑队 (peasant construction worker) |
| 1988/7/27 | 1 | 青工戏幼儿缺教养 | 建筑工人 (construction workers) / 青工 (youth workers) |
| 1988/7/21 | 1 | 流氓敲诈终落法网 | 民工 (non-state workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|----------------|---|
| 1988/7/09 | 1 | 铜块冒充黄金 | 女青年(female youth) / 老虎冲的农民(peasant from Laohuchong village) |
| 1988/7/05 | 1 | 青岛出现八万多在职“失业”者 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 农民进城谋生 (peasants who come into cities to make a living) |
| 1988/7/04 | 1 | 惠民一批农家女成为股东工人 | 农家女(rural girls) / 农家姑娘 (rural girls) / 新纺织工人(new textile workers) |
| 1988/7/03 | 1 | 进城搞农务空手而归多 | 农村青年(rural youth) / 叫薛洪男的青年(a young man called *Xuehong) |
| 1988/6/14 | 2 | 城里人要改变就业观 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 1988/6/06 | 2 | 农民点数公共汽车票 (图片) | 农民(peasants) |
| 1998/6/05 | 1 | 小保姆行窃家贼难防 | 小保姆(little nanny) |

Qilu Evening News 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2004/7/30 | A12 | 打工一年，孩子就地入学 青岛出台细则保障外来务工人员子女上学 | 外来务工人员 (workers from other places) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|------------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/29 | A12 | 高温天气让人们变懒 天热乐了钟点工 | 钟点工郑阿姨 (part-time worker Aunt Zheng) |
| 2004/7/27 | A16 | 民工子女的快乐天堂（图片） | 民工子女(non-state workers' children) |
| 2004/7/27 | A10 | 打工受伤最作赔100元 律师：此为违法约定，理应认定无效 | 打工者小赵(Little Zhao who is working for the boss) |
| 2004/7/26 | A11 | 结伴游泳陷入暗滩 打工仔舍命救同伴 | 打工仔(young guys who are working for the bosses) / 打工青年李树林(young guy who is working for the boss *Lishulin) |
| 2004/7/22 | A12 | 农民钱袋里工资占大头 | 外出劳动力 (outflowing labourers) |
| 2004/7/20 | A12 | 只为方便去工地 三建筑工竟抢“奥迪” | 建筑工人 (construction workers) / 张某 (a certain Zhang) / 赵某 (a certain Zhao) / 王某 (a certain Wang) |
| 2004/7/19 | E2 | 热心人要帮打工者维权 | 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 外来务工人员 (workers from other places) / 打工人员(people who are working for the bosses) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/19 | A12 | 淄博建筑民工全入工会 | 建筑民工 (construction non-state workers) / 进城务工人员 (people who come into cities to work) / 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/19 | A10 | 民工上岗有了知识后盾 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 农民工俞春华 (peasant worker *Yuchunhua) / 盛岳喜 (*Shengyuexi) |
| 2004/7/19 | A6 | “民工律师”为何状告民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/18 | A7 | 东营为民工办消防夜校 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/7/12 | A5 | 一打工妹为钱财伸毒手 抢劫拘禁昔日“姐” | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 吕某 (a certain Lv) |
| 2004/7/10 | A4 | 200公斤大玻璃爆碎 五名民工被割伤 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 陶某 (a certain Tao) |
| 2004/7/09 | A9 | 工伤保险范围“大扩容” 农民工也可上工伤保险 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/7/08 | A13 | 兖州打破户籍限制医保护面一视同仁，农民工也可入城镇医保 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 进企业务工的农民 (peasants who work for the enterprises) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|--|
| 2004/7/06 | A7 | 打工仔“卧底”擒劫匪 | 打工仔 (young guys who are working for the bosses / 刘智明 (化名) (*Liuzhiming) (under a false name) |
| 2004/7/06 | A2 | 怎能让外来人员举木牌照相 | 外来人员(people from other places) / 外来人口(population from other places) |
| 2004/7/04 | A7 | 确保农民工工资不被拖欠、克扣 枣庄实施劳务工资保证金制 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/7/02 | A13 | 身在异乡的游子有了自己的“家” 日照两千农民工入工会 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 劳工工(workers) |
| 2004/7/02 | A13 | 50人一间“大宿舍”“卧室”中间是厨房 数百民工栖身烂尾楼 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 四川籍民工(non-state workers who come from Sichuan) |
| 2004/7/02 | A6 | 线杆倒地砸伤民工 教练车急送伤员入院抢救 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 李某 (a certain Li) |
| 2004/6/29 | E3 | 两米铁架上跌落 一民工摔成重伤 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 褚某 (a certain Zhe) |
| 2004/6/29 | E5 | 给环卫工人查体 | 环卫工人 (sanitation workers) |
| 2004/6/29 | A12 | 5年培训农民工35万人次 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|------------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/28 | A8 | 夏令营情牵农民工子女 百名孩子将成首批免费受益者 | 农民工子女 (peasant workers' children) / 进城务工人员子女 (people who come into cities to work's children) |
| 2004/6/28 | A6 | 吉普车栽进电缆沟 砸伤两名民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 周姓民工(a non-state worker whose surname is Zhou) / 姓冯的民工(a non-state worker whose surname is Feng) |
| 2004/6/27 | E1 | 来济打工险做“三陪” 16岁少女跳窗出逃获救助返家 | 打工 (people who are working for the bosses) / 四川少女李敏 (a young girl named *Limin from Sichuan) |
| 2004/6/26 | A7 | 东营 拖欠工资可打热线 | 市民百姓 (residents) |
| 2004/6/25 | A14 | 宁阳新型农村合作医疗试点又出新招 外地打工看病回家报销 | 外出务工的农民 (peasants who are working outside the rural villages) / 在外打工的农民 (peasants who are working for the bosses outside the rural villages) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/25 | A6 | 一民工坠地摔成重伤 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 刘某 (a certain Liu) |
| 2004/6/24 | A6 | 一老人万元钱藏袜筒 打工妹不昧金还主人 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 女青年小王 (female youth little Wang) |
| 2004/6/23 | A14 | 这打工妹太有心计 | 打工妹周某 (little sister, a certain Zhou, who is working for the boss / 农民周某 (a peasant, a certain Zhou) |
| 2004/6/17 | A14 | 三企业欠民工工资 一年不得接新工程 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/6/17 | A6 | 受伤女工讨公道 揭出违规食品厂 | 打工的少女 (young girls who are working for the bosses) / 女工杨某 (female worker, a certain Yang) / 职工 (unit workers) |
| 2004/6/16 | A6 | 30米塔吊上坠下 两民工不幸身亡 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/15 | A13 | 加快农村剩余劳动力转移 菏泽年内培训万余民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 在外务工人员 (people who are working outside the rural villages) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/15 | A6 | 被骗从事色情服务 民警突袭 解救6少女 | 打工（者） (people who are working for the bosses) / 滕州籍 少女小王(a young girl called Little Wang from Tengzhou) |
| 2004/6/11 | A14 | 青岛城阳区礼待打工者 外来妹成市民节贵宾 | 外来妹(little sisters from other places) / 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 外来务 工者 (workers from other places) / 外来务 工女性(female workers from other places) |
| 2004/6/11 | A12 | “阳光工程”培训10万民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/09 | A6 | 一青年坠地身亡 | 一青年(a young man) / 小伙子 (lad) / 姓魏(a person whose surname is Wei) |
| 2004/6/09 | A2 | 禁称“小姐”是管理的庸俗化 | 流动人口(floating population) / 外 来人口(people from other places) |
| 2004/6/07 | A11 | 女包工头爬塔吊讨工钱 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 打工 的人(people who are working for the bosses) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|----------------------------|--|
| 2004/6/06 | D3 | 这位司机，请善待民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 外出务工者(people who are working outside their rural village) |
| 2004/6/05 | A4 | 一民工讨工钱被打昏 | 民工宋学先和王献春，肖世春 (non-state workers *Songxuexian, *Wangxianchun & *Xiaoshichun) |
| 2004/6/04 | A14 | 日照港以奖励促技术进步 12名农民工获岗位补贴 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 缝包大王辛崇武 (“Bag King” *Xinchongwu) / 兄弟 (brothers) |
| 2004/6/04 | D10 | 带着病妻打工十年 | 打工者王世才 (people who are working for the bosses, named *Wangshicai) |
| 2004/6/02 | A6 | 5民工5米房顶上坠下 | 民工 (non-state workers) |

Qilu Evening News 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 2010/7/31 | A2 | 一环卫工人中暑后身亡 | 环卫工人 (sanitation workers) |
| 2010/7/30 | A6 | 高温福利，差别咋就这么大 (图片说明) | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---|
| 2010/7/30 | A6 | 想要补贴 就得走人 | 民工小黄(non-state worker little Huang) / 建筑工 (construction worker) |
| 2010/7/31 | A6 | 一天补助 不到六毛 | 环卫工张女士 (sanitation worker Mrs Zhang) |
| 2010/7/30 | A7 | 执法无据, 权益只是个传说 (图片说明) | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/30 | A7 | 规定不少, 执行不多 | 职工(unit workers) |
| 2010/7/30 | C8/ C9 | “关爱城管保洁员子女”夏令营 起航了 | 城管保洁员子女 (sanitation workers' children) |
| 2010/7/29 | C16 | 脚一滑, 他从脚手架上摔了下来 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/28 | B8 | 两天120余保洁员子女报名 | 保洁员子女 (sanitation workers' children) / 建筑工人 (construction workers) / 在环卫所工作的王贵海(*Wangguihai, who is working at sanitation department) / 保洁员张敏 (sanitation worker *Zhangmin) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---|--|
| 2010/7/28 | B8 | 保洁员的孩子挺“阳光” | 保洁员的孩子／ 农民工子女 (peasant workers' children) |
| 2010/7/27 | C6 | 给环卫工一个微笑，也是一种 关爱 | 环卫工(sanitation workers) |
| 2010/7/26 | C5 | 保洁员子女，这个暑假不寂寞 | 保洁员子女 (sanitation workers' children) |
| 2010/7/26 | A9 | 青岛外来工缺口为啥这么大 | 外来工(workers from other places)／打工者 (people who are working for the bosses)／王军 (*Wangjun)／外 来务工者 (workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/26 | A9 | 搅拌机短路“咬”住工人 | 建筑工人 (construction workers) |
| 2010/7/24 | C3 | 环卫工子女报道引发市民关爱 热潮 来我这免费读书 来我家过暑假吧 | 环卫工子女 (sanitation workers' children)／环卫 工子女杨朔 (sanitation workers' child *Yangshuo) |
| 2010/7/23 | C21 | “不给工钱就不让你出门” 十几名工人讨薪堵了一小区门 | 工人(workers)／ 建筑工人 (construction workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---|
| 2010/7/23 | C4/ C5 | 别人的暑假很多彩，他们的生活很无奈 | 环卫工子女 (sanitation workers' children) / 孔祥彩 (*Kongxiangcai) / 刘亚洲 (*Liuyazou) / 刘金国(*Liujinguo) |
| 2010/7/22 | A7 | 在建楼房坍塌 工头妻子遇难 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/18 | A4 | 打工老汉 三万血汗钱汇错账户 | 打工老汉(old guy who is working for the boss) / 打工的老人蔡斌 (old man who is working for the boss) (化名) (under a false name) |
| 2010/7/15 | C14 | 大热天高空作业遇险 装配工手心出汗遭电击 | 装配工人 (installation workers) / 张师傅(master Zhang) |
| 2010/7/15 | A13 | 农民工陷入搅拌机 消防官兵破拆解救 | 工人(workers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) / 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2010/7/13 | C2 | 让农民工有尊严地索赔 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 四川民工王女士(non-sate worker from Sichuan Mrs Wang) |
| 2010/7/13 | C2 | 尊重环卫工，就是尊重自己 | 环卫工 (sanitation workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------------|---|
| 2010/7/12 | C8 | 女工身着病号服闹上工地 | 女工 (female workers) / 四川民工王尔琼 (non-state worker from Sichuan named *Wangerqiong) / 务工人员 (workers) |
| 2010/7/12 | C7 | 疑因抢活，务工青年砍伤同行 | 务工青年 (young workers) |
| 2010/7/11 | C4 | 农民工子女游科技馆（图片） | 农民工子女 (peasant workers' children) |
| 2010/7/10 | C2 | 农民工“高温假”再加一小时 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 2010/7/9 | C20 | 58岁环卫工人烈日下猝死 | 环卫工人陈诚爱 (sanitation worker *Chengchengai) |
| 2010/7/8 | C6 | 天热也得干 不干没钱赚 | 工人 (worker) / 建筑工人 (construction worker) / 施工人员 (construction worker) |
| 2010/7/7 | A2 | 高温下弱势群体更渴盼“阴凉” | 建筑工人 (construction worker) / 保洁员 (sanitation workers) / 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2010/7/6 | A5 | 高温来了，高温补贴在哪儿（图片说明） | 工人 (workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/6 | A5 | 青岛高温补贴几成一纸空文 | 室外工作人员 (outdoor workers) / 环卫工人老崔 (sanitation worker, Old Cui / 协管员潘振成 (traffic warden assistant *Panzhcheng) / 老潘 (Old Pan) |
| 2010/7/4 | C4 | 温度不太高 但是很不爽 (图片说明) | 工人 (workers) |
| 2010/7/1 | A7 | 今起入雨季 (图片说明) | 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 2010/6/29 | C7 | 烈日下, 工人们在工作 (图片说明) | 工人 (workers) |
| 2010/6/29 | A12 | “模范企业”195名工人患矽肺病 | 工人 (workers) |
| 2010/6/23 | B15 | 三次抢车, 欲撞欠钱包工头 三次弃车, 觉得这样做不值 | 一男子 (a man) / 叶某 (a certain Ye) |
| 2010/6/18 | A12 | 百余农民工讨工钱 蜗居烂尾楼近17年 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 庞师傅 (Master Pang) |
| 2010/6/09 | A17 | “地板工资”合法, 但不道德 | 员工 (staff) |
| 2010/6/09 | A2 | 户籍改革不应止于积分制入户 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 外来工 (workers from other places) |
| 2010/6/07 | A10 | 富士康员工每周至少休一天 | 员工 (staff) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|--------------|---|
| 2010/6/02 | A13 | 28层高楼里得“管道族” | 物业上的工作人员 (staff janitor) / 来自菏泽的王亮 (化名) 和赵鑫 (化名) (*Wangliang & *Zhaoxin from Heze, under the false names) |
| 2010/6/02 | A08 | 想偷摄像头，反被拍现行 | 小偷(petty thief) / 男子 (man) / 工人 (workers) / 姓杨 (surname Yang) |
| 2010/6/01 | C10 | 夜深人静，厨师变成劫匪 | 厨师 (chef) / 李某 (a certain Li) / 刘某 (a certain Liu) |

Shandong Commercial News 2002

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|-----------|--|
| 2002/07/17 | 3 | 章丘“黑砖厂”栽了 | 工人(workers) |
| 2002/07/12 | 4 | 读者谴责“黑砖厂” | 工人(workers) / 打工的人(people who are working for the bosses) / 小强(Little Qiang) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 2002/07/11 | 3 | 记者与公安联动 解救“黑砖厂”工人 | 工人(workers) / 贾本飞 (Jiabenfeng) / 周 支栋 (*Zhouzhidong) / 姚红庆 (*Yaohongqing) / 李忠远 (*Lizhongyuan) / 周大爷(Granny Zhou) / 向燕 (*Xiangyan) |
| 2002/07/10 | 2 | 劳务输出要做就业新增长点 | 农村剩余劳动力 (surplus labourers from rural areas) |
| 2002/07/05 | 6 | 安装防盗网触电坠楼 一民工当场身亡 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2002/07/04 | 5 | 沥青烫伤一民工 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 董某 (a certain Dong) |
| 2002/07/04 | 3 | 大厦把民工赶到马路上报道 追踪 谈判分歧较大 民工陷入困境 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 来自 长清的民工(non- state worker from Changqing) |
| 2002/07/02 | 3 | 装修数月工钱一分未拿 正干着活又被赶出大厦 民工行李被扔马路上 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 打工 妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) |
| 2002/07/01 | 5 | 一样的孩子 不一样的童年 (图片说明) | 从农村出来的孩 子 (children from the countryside) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|------------|------|------------------------------------|--|
| 2002/06/30 | 5 | 电梯70米高空坠下 5名工人当场丧生 | 工人 (workers) / 侯师傅 (master Hou) / 姓侯的民 工 (non-state worker, surnamed Hou) |
| 2002/06/21 | 5 | 烈日炎炎 裸眼作业 民工兄弟, 请保护眼睛 | 民工兄弟 (non- state worker brothers) |
| 2002/06/12 | 9 | 雇个男保姆真难 | 男保姆 (male nanny) |
| 2002/06/09 | 4 | 工地: 节约用水 泳池: 禁 止入内 民工洗澡无奈进砚泉 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 姓吴 的民工(non-state worker, surnamed Wu) |
| 2002/06/03 | 6 | 菜市场里的童年 | 外地来的菜贩的 孩子(children of people from other places who are selling vegetables) / 赵 国亮 (*Zhaoguolian) |

Shandong Commercial News 2004

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|------------|--|
| 2004/7/23 | 8 | 两男女钱杀死“小姐” | 男子 (man) / 其 女友 (his girlfriend) / 席某 (a certain Xi) / 王某 (a certain Wang) / 夜总会 小姐 (nightclub hostess) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|----------------------------|---|
| 2004/7/22 | 8 | 解放路一工地发生意外 电梯井坠落民工身亡 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 杨某 (a certain Yang) |
| 2004/7/19 | 2 | 农民工工资，偿付拖欠270亿 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/7/17 | 22 | 无端遭暴打 被逼吃粪便 凌辱农民工事件令人发指 | 农民工 (peasant workers) / 包继友 (*Baojiyou) |
| 2004/7/14 | 7 | 务工人员女子夏令营“扬帆”赴京 | 进城务工人员子女 (children of workers who have migrated to the city) |
| 2004/7/13 | 13 | 留下字条出走 打工妹惊煞老板 | 打工妹 (little sisters who are working for the bosses) / 女孩 (girl) |
| 2004/7/13 | 11 | 工头提着油壶讨工钱 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 工人 (workers) |
| 2004/7/09 | 10 | “洗头妹”命丧洗头房 | 洗头妹 (barber's female assistant) |
| 2004/7/07 | 16 | “民工律师”状告民工侵犯背后 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/7/07 | 9 | “丢包”老骗局坑了打工妹 | 打工妹小丛 (little sister who is working for the boss, called Little Cong) |
| 2004/7/03 | 5 | 疲劳驾驶撞死施工工人 | 施工工人 (construction worker) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|---------------------------|---|
| 2004/6/29 | 7 | 记者走近经十路建设者 | 经十路建设者 (construction workers on Jingshi Road) / 外来务工人员 (workers from other places) / 小张 (little Zhang) / 范师傅 (Master Fan) / 小章 (Little Zhang) |
| 2004/6/28 | 26 | 打工农民被“重复抓捕” | 打工农民 (peasants who are working for the bosses) / 罗宏全 (*Luohongquan) |
| 2004/6/25 | 10 | 出租车闯祸 粉刷工遭殃 | 粉刷工 (painter) |
| 2004/6/19 | 7 | 12人“草台班子”色情表演 其中5个女孩未满18岁 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/15 | 7 | 理发店女老板容留卖淫 | 卖淫女徐某 (prostitute, a certain Xu) |
| 2004/6/11 | 9 | 这个民工命真大 七楼掉下无大碍 | 民工 (non-state workers) / 沈某 (a certain Shen) |
| 2004/6/10 | 5 | 农民工工资一分钱没拖欠 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2004/6/05 | 5 | 一民工闹市暴病亡 | 民工 (non-state workers) |
| 2004/6/03 | 3 | 农民工首次竞考省直公务员 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

Shandong Commercial News 2010

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------|---|
| 2010/7/29 | A4 | 户籍限住打工者和毕业生 | 打工者(people who are working for the bosses) / 进城务工人员(people who come into cities for jobs) / 外来工作人员(workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/22 | C7 | 男子楼顶作业触电身亡 | 男子(man) |
| 2010/7/22 | C7 | 头顶轰然塌方 沟中工人被埋 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/21 | A5 | 我省将推居住证“一证通” | 流动人口(floating population) |
| 2010/7/16 | C6 | 揪心! 又一空调工坠楼 | 男子(man) / 空调工(air conditioning installer) / 李某(a certain Li) |
| 2010/7/16 | A11 | 富士康在我省急招3万工人 | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/7/15 | A5 | 买万斤西瓜送建设者 | 建设者(construction workers) / 施工人员(construction workers) |
| 2010/7/13 | C6 | 县西巷暑期夏令营开班了 外来务工人员与城里孩子一样参加 | 外来务工人员子女(children of workers from other places) |
| 2010/7/13 | C5 | 施工男子不慎锯断股动脉 | 施工男子(male construction workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2010/7/13 | C4 | 她借招聘行骗 他借应聘盗窃 | 男子马某与徐某 (Men, a certain Ma & a certain Xu) / 洗车工 (Car washer) / 小伙子(lad) |
| 2010/7/12 | A8 | 惊险！施工塔吊拦腰折断 | 施工的工人 (construction workers) |
| 2010/7/10 | A4 | 高温超37度，10点到16点停工 | 施工人员 (construction workers) / 环卫工 (sanitation workers) |
| 2010/7/07 | A4 | 省城拟立法保护“高温劳动” | 室外露天作业人员(out door workers) |
| 2010/7/06 | C6 | 老人不让开空调 热走三保姆 | 保姆(nanny) |
| 2010/7/02 | A6 | 流动人员医保可“全国漫游” | 流动人员(floating population) / 农民工(peasant workers) |
| 2010/7/01 | C1 | 酷热难耐（图片说明） | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/6/30 | A3 | 全省最高温38.8度（图片说明） | 工人(workers) |
| 2010/6/29 | B8 | 找上门的活干不完，工人不够用 家装市场生意逆市红火 | 装修工人 (decorators) |
| 2010/6/29 | C8 | 一月逮住49辆“山寨公交” 务工人员上班公交车发车晚问题显现 | 务工人员 (workers) |
| 2010/6/23 | A3 | 被欠薪农民工烂尾楼住17年 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |
| 2010/6/15 | A2 | 温家宝：要把年轻农民工当成自己孩子 | 农民工 (peasant workers) |

| Date | Page | Title | Term |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|--|
| 2010/6/13 | A10 | 外来务工人员纳入公租房范围 | 外来务工人员 (workers from other places) |
| 2010/6/12 | A4 | “民生就业”走进社区 | 外来务工者 (workers from) |
| 2010/6/11 | C8 | 齐心协力（图片） | 工作人员（staff） |
| 2010/6/11 | A2 | “口袋户”符合政策可落户 | 流动人口(floating population) |
| 2010/6/10 | A12 | 美好的打工梦 | 伤者刘明（化名）(the wounded *Liuming)(under a false name) |
| 2010/6/07 | C8 | 省城家政出现“用工荒” | 家政工人 (domestic workers) |
| 2010/6/07 | C6 | 空调安装工四楼坠落身亡 | 空调安装工(air conditioner installers) |
| 2010/6/03 | C3 | 通航前忙“美容” | 施工人员 (construction workers) |
| 2010/6/03 | C8 | 为讨薪装修工怒砸新居装修 | 装修工人 (decoration workers) |
| 2010/6/02 | C9 | 瞪着摄像头，他动了贼手 没成想他的一举一动全被拍进了镜头里 | 来济务工的杨某 (a certain Yang, who came to Jinan to work) |
| 2010/6/02 | A3 | 济南拟推居住证停暂住证 | 流动人口 (floating population) |

Table 7.2 Data of Reports with the Theme of Criminal Offences Involving Migrant Workers

(Reports in 1980s 1990s & 2002)

Qilu Evening News 1988 Crime Reports

| Article | Causes | Language | Voices | News Source | Pictures | Comments |
|--|--------------|--|--------|--------------------|---|----------|
| June 5, P. 1 My sister's maid stole from her | none | she even stole her bra (shen zhi) Settled down (luo hu) | none | readers' letter | none | none |
| June 6, P.2 A male farmer collected discarded bus tickets and sold them to people | making money | It was said such a way to get rich | none | journalist himself | a picture showing the farmer sitting on the ground, with his back against a wall, counting money (no concealment or pixellation) | none |
| July 9, P.1 A female farmer sold a piece of fake gold to a worker | none | none | none | unknown | none | none |

Jinan Times 1996 Crime Reports

| Article | Causes | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Comments |
|---|----------------------|---|--------|---------------------|----------|----------|
| June 22, P.1 14 criminals were sentenced | none | none | none | news correspondents | none | none |
| July 20, P.2 A migrant worker who pretended to be a policeman was arrested | become rich (fa cai) | so audacious (da dan) magically changed (yao shen yi bian) dreaming of becoming rich (zuo zhe fa cai meng). | none | news correspondent | none | none |
| July 23, P.2 A migrant worker who stole her employer's money was sentenced to seven years in jail | none | stole into quickly and secretly (cuan) | none | not known | none | none |

Life Daily 1998 crime reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|--|--------|---------------------|---|-------------|
| June 30, P3 One hotel female manager was sentenced for sheltering prostitution | none | none | none | news correspondents | none | none |
| July 10, Life Weekend A disaster caused by an employee | <p>The migrant worker took revenge on his employer who fined him for a mistake at work.</p> <p>The job agency failed in checking the identities of the migrant workers.</p> | <p>extremely vicious (qiong xiong ji'e)</p> <p>like a madman (fa feng shi de)</p> <p>cruel and ferocious (xiong hen can ren) like a ghost (you ling yi yang)</p> | none | none | one picture showing the victims' happy family, without any concealment or pixellation | none |

Shandong Commercial News 2002 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures |
|---------|-------|----------|--------|--------------|----------|
| None | | | | | |

(Reports in 2004)

Qilu Evening News 2004 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|-------|--|--------|---------------------|----------|---|
| June 23, A14 A female migrant worker used a fake ID card to get a job at a hotel and stole money from the till one month later | none | too sly (tai you xin ji) pretending to be diligent (jia zhuang gong zuo qin fen) have plan for a long time (yu mou yi jiu) | none | news correspondents | none | yes “make decisions immediately” (duanding) and “find quickly”(xun su zhao dao),etc. |
| July 12, A5 A female migrant worker robbed another female migrant worker who was also her good friend | money | evil hands (du shou) indolent (hao yi wu lao) | none | news correspondents | none | yes “Through careful investigation and fact-finding” (jing guo xin zhi de zou fang diao cha), etc. |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|------|--------------------|------|------|
| July 20, A12 Three male construction migrant workers stole an Audi car for the convenience of going to work | for the convenience of going to work and showing off | enjoyed a luxury lifestyle for a fortnight (feng guanle bu dao ban yue) deliberately making trouble (xun xin zi shi) | none | new correspondents | none | none |
|--|--|---|------|--------------------|------|------|

Jinan Times 2004 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Comments |
|--|-------|----------|--------|---------------------|----------|----------|
| June 3, A. 20 A migrant worker was fined 600 Yuan, for using his brother's ID to apply for a job | none | none | none | unknown | none | none |
| June 3, A. 20 Four men and one woman took drugs in a hotel | none | none | none | news correspondents | none | none |

| | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| June 8, A. 19 A chef working at a construction site stole steel reinforcing bars | none | how dare (ye gan) | none | news correspondent | none | yes immediately (sui ji), etc. |
| June 16, A. 13 Failing to steal an electric bicycle, a man ran away but his shoes fell off | none | run away like a scared mouse (shu cuan) run like a homeless dog (sang jia quan ban cang huang tao cuan) | none | news hotlines | none | yes several minutes later(ji fen zhong hou), etc. |
| June 22, A.9 A girl was found stabbed 5 times in a underground hotel | for money to buy ticket to go home | have evil intentions (xin sheng dai nian) evil gangster (dai tu) | none | news correspondents | none | yes rush into danger (chong shang qian qu), etc. |
| June 25, A.9 An escort girl robbed a businessman of 130000 Yuan | pay for the debt | confession (jiao dai) very horrible (song ren ting wen) well planned (zhou mi ce hua) | yes confession (jiao dai) | news correspondents | one picture showing the criminals squatting at the ground | yes “Police Che Jianmin will never given up” (bu ken shan ba gan xiu de Che Jianmin), etc. |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|------------------------------|---------------|------|---|
| June 29, A. 13 A migrant worker stole an electric power cable and was arrested | find it difficult to make money by hard labour work | confession (jiao dai) evil idea (wai dian zi) | yes confession (jiao dai) | news hotlines | none | yes “the police made an effort to send out more patrols” (ji a da xun luo li du), etc. |
| July 1, A 9 Four young guys embezzled 30000 yuan worth of food | none | conspire together (nei wai gou jie) confession (jiao dai) | yes confession (jiao dai) | unknown | none | yes “immediately” (laji), etc. |
| July 22, A28 A kind-hearted boss sheltered a temporary working sister, but she stole his money and ran away | none | shamefaced (ke lian xiang) | none | unknown | none | none |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|------|---------|------|------|
| July 25, A24 A migrant worker on bail who left the city before the completion of the inquiry was arrested | make money for the compensation | delivered' himself to jail (song zi ji qu ban fang) | none | unknown | none | none |
|--|---------------------------------|---|------|---------|------|------|

Life Daily 2004 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Comments |
|--|------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| July 12, A7 A female boss was robbed by a young working sister | greedy for money | confession (jiao dai) | yes confession (jiao dai) | news correspondents | none | yes went there immediately" (min jing li ji qian wang), etc. |
| July 26, A3 The Police encircled and cracked down on black tricycles | none | showed a lot of ugly behaviour (chou tai bai chu) run away hurriedly like scared birds (jing gong zhi niao) | none | news correspondents | one picture showing a local policeman was surrounded by migrant workers | none |

Shandong Commercial News 2004 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|-----------|--|---|---------------------|----------|---|
| June 15, A female hair-dresser's boss was arrested for sheltering prostitution | none | none fully confession (gong ren bu hui) | yes fully confession (gong ren bu hui) | news correspondents | none | yes arrested them shortly" (ma shang qu zhua),etc. |
| July 23, Two suspects were arrested for murdering a "miss" (prostitute) | for money | fully confession (ru shi jiao dai) psychopath (can ren) | yes fully confession (ru shi jiao dai) | news correspondents | none | yes "carefully check" (xi zhi bian ren) and "using shock interrogation" (tu shen),etc. |

(Reports in 2010)

Qilu Evening News 2010 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|--|--|--------|--------------|----------|-------------|
| June 1, C10 Four chefs were arrested for robbing women walking alone at night | not happy with their legal income want to get rich faster | grew greedy (peng zhang de wu zhi yu wang) | none | news hotline | none | none |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|------|---------------------------|---|------|
| June 2, A 28 A migrant worker stole several CCTV cameras | for money | how dare you do this (zhe me da dan) | none | news correspo ndent | four pictures showing the crime process but the thief's face was pixellated | none |
|---|-----------|--|------|---------------------------|---|------|

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|---------------------|------|---------------------------|--|------|
| June 11, C 24 Tianqiao district checked the illegally run black motorcycl es | none | none | none | news correspo ndent | one picture showing the black motorcycl es parking there | none |
| June 23, B15 A migrant worker stole cars three times and then dumped the cars | arrogant cannot tolerate being looked down upon paranoid personalit y | stupid (wo nang) | yes | news correspo ndent | one picture showing the criminal and the policeme n but the criminal's face was pixellated | none |
| July 12, C07 A migrant worker stabbed another migrant worker with a knife | to prevent the other worker getting the job that he wanted hot temper | none | yes | news hotlines | none | none |

Jinan Times 2010 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Source | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|---|--------|---------------------|----------|-------------|
| June 23, A10 A migrant worker stole cars three times and then dumped the cars, and planned to run over his labour contractor who had not paid his wages | being looked down upon by others not for money | very arrogant (zi zun xin qiang) | yes | news correspondents | none | none |
| June 23, A12 The police found a labour contractor was an escaped criminal | to make a living | exposed (zaile) looked suspicious (keyi) | none | news correspondents | none | none |

Life Daily 2010 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Comments |
|--|-------|----------|--------|---------------------|---|----------|
| June 11, A8 12 "black motorcycles" were found in an hour | none | none | none | news correspondents | one picture showing the black motorcycles | none |

Shandong Commercial News 2010 Crime Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Comments |
|--|-------|---|--------|--------------------|--|----------|
| June 11, C8 The drivers of "black motorcycles" will be arrested | none | Where can you run to (nali pao) | none | news correspondent | two pictures showing the black motorcycle driver was arrested, but his face was pixellated | none |
| June 13, C4 A new car cleaner stole his clients' money during his work | none | glint in his eyes (yan jing fang guang) | none | news hotlines | none | none |

Table 7.3 Data of Reports with the Theme of Industrial Accidents Involving Migrant Workers

(Reports in 1980s 1990s & 2002)

Qilu Evening News 1988 Accident Reports

| Article | Causes | Language | Voices | News Source | Pictures | Compliments |
|---------|--------|----------|--------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| None | | | | | | |

Jinan Times 1996 Accident Reports

| Article | Causes | Language | Voices | News Source | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|------------------|---|--------|---------------------|----------|--|
| July 23, P.2 Three migrant workers were rescued after being trapped underground for seven days | mine flooding | extreme challenge to life (tiao zhan sheng ming ji xian) It's a miracle that they survived (jing qi ji ban di huo zhe) | none | news correspondents | none | yes The local government organized the rescue immediately (Shi zheng fu he you guan bu men li ji zu zhi qiang jiu, etc.) |
| July 22, P.1 One crane fell over, and it killed two people and hurt two others | careless (ma hu) | none | none | not known | none | none |

Life Daily 1998 Accident Reports

| Article | Causes | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|--|--------|---------------------|----------|---|
| June 9, P. 1 30 migrant workers poisoned by green beans | undercooked beans | none | none | news correspondents | none | yes paid strongly attention on (fei chang zhong shi) |
| June 8, P. 3 Army and civilians rescued 5 migrant workers | Building collapsed . | Rhyme is used: the beam has not been installed, the house has collapsed (liang huan wei jia, xin fang yi ta) | none | news correspondents | none | yes (the doctors) came immediately (li ji gan wang) |
| June 17, P. 1, Workers working high up should pay attention to safety | careless The safety belt was broken. | none | none | not known | none | none |

Shandong Commercial News 2002 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|--|---|---------------|--|-------------|
| July 5, P. 6 A migrant worker was electrocuted and died when he installed a security grill | electrocuted | a sad accident (can ju) unfortunately (bu xing) | none | news hotlines | one picture showing the building where the accident took place | none |
| July 4, P. 5 A migrant worker was scalded by hot tarmac | scalded by hot tarmac | from poor families (jia jing bu hao) | none | news hotlines | none | none |
| June 30, P.5 The elevator dropped from 70 meters high, and 5 migrant workers died | possibilities: human error, malfunctioning machines, unqualified in safety regulations. | none | The witness, a migrant worker was interviewed to describe the accident. | not known | One picture showing the damaged elevator | none |

(Reports in 2004)

Qilu Evening News 2004 Accident Report

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|--|---|--------|---------------|---|-------------|
| July 2, A6 Electrical pole fell and injured migrant worker | electrical pole was damaged | none | yes | news hotlines | one picture showing the victim lying on a stretcher trolley, and his face could not be seen | none |
| June 28, A6 Jeep drove into a ditch where migrant workers were working | Jeep turned quickly to avoid another car | luckily (xing yun) | none | news hotlines | one picture showing the accident scene | none |
| June 25, A6 A migrant worker fell to the ground and was hurt | car accident | continually cried (bu ting de shen yin) | none | news hotlines | none | none |

Jinan Times 2004 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|--|----------------------|--------|---------------------|----------|-------------|
| July 20, A6 Illegal construction work caused 3 people to die | Carelessness illegal construction work unqualified migrant workers | none | none | news correspondents | none | none |
| July 2, A18 6 migrant workers fell from a roof and were injured | roof collapse suddenly | unfortunate (buxing) | none | not known | none | none |

Life Daily 2004 Accident Report

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|---|--------|--------------|---|-------------|
| July10, A7 8 migrant workers were lacerated by shards of glass | The glass frames were unqualified. | His left arm was broken and he lost a lot of blood. | yes | unknown | A picture showing the victims sitting in the hospital | none |
| July10, A7 A migrant worker was nearly buried after a wall collapsed | The wall was damaged by the rain water. | His head was injured and his arm was broken. | yes | unknown | A picture showing the accident scene | none |

| | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------------------------|------|---------------------|--|------|
| July 3, A7 A road worker was knocked over and died | drowsy-driving | very miserable and sad (ben can) | none | news correspondents | A picture showing the accident vehicle | none |
|---|----------------|----------------------------------|------|---------------------|--|------|

Shandong Commercial News 2004 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|----------|--------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| July 22, P.8 An elevator fell and one migrant worker died | not wear safety equipment lack of strict supervision from the management | none | yes | news hotlines | none | none |

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|-----|---------------|--|------|
| June 11, P.9 This migrant worker is so lucky, that he was not badly injured after falling from the 7th floor | none | the victim's wife was holding her husband's hands, and said, "don't worry, don't worry" | yes | news hotlines | One picture shows the victim lying in bed, and the other picture was a X-ray picture, showing his broken leg | none |
|---|------|---|-----|---------------|--|------|

(Reports in 2010)

Qilu Evening News 2010 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|---|-----------|--------|---------------------------|---|-------------|
| July 26, A 9 A cement mixer “ate” a worker | none | eat (chi) | none | news correspo ndent | 2 pictures: 1) a worker was stuck in a cement mixer, encircled by rescuers; 2) the worker was on the stretcher. | none |
| July 22, A7 A contracto r’s wife was killed by a collapsing building | building collapse the building materials were unqualifie d the local farmers wanted to get more relocation compens ation from the governme nt. | none | yes | unknown | 3 pictures: 1) a similar building under constructi on nearby, 2) the firemen were using life detectors to look for the victims, 3) the buried female worker was carried out by the firemen. | none |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|------|---------------------------|---|------|
| July 29, C16 A worker fell off a 2 meter high scaffold | The victim did not wear a safety belt | fortunatel y (xing kui) | yes | news hotlines | One picture showing the victim lying in the bed in the hospital, encircled by his colleague s and journalist s | none |
| July 15,C14 Worker sweats and receives electric shock | electrical shock to wet hands | emergenc y treatment (ji jiu) | yes | news hotlines | none | none |
| July 15, A13 Migrant worker falls into cement mixer | carelessn ess | bitten (yao shang) | none | news correspo ndent | none | none |

Jinan Times 2010 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Complim ents |
|--|---|---|--------|------------------|----------|-----------------|
| July 22, A.15 They used hands to dig the earth to save a buried colleague | ditch collapse too much rain water | dangerou s (xian), emergenc y (ji) and released (tan). | yes | news hotlines | none | none |

Life Daily 2010 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|--|---|--|--------------------|---------------|---|-------------|
| July 13, A5 An air conditioner installer did not wear his safety belt during his work, and he fell to the ground, badly injured | no professional training and supervision for air conditioner installers | He is only 18 years old. How is he now? I hope he is alright, or his family will be very upset. | none (he is dying) | news hotlines | A picture showing the accident scene | none |
| June 2, A6 A tractor drove into a temporary house, and two workers sleeping inside were still in their dreams | brake failure The driver blamed the road conditions. | Though they had to tolerate the heavy noise of tractors, they were so tired that they fell asleep fast | yes | news hotlines | Two pictures showing the accident scene | none |
| June 29, A14 A tractor drove into another tractor | A possible brake problem | unfortunately died (bu xing shen wang) | yes | news hotlines | A picture showing the accident scene | none |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|------|---------------|----------------------------------|------|
| June 5, P. 8 Wind from fast moving vehicle blew worker off building | No safety equipment | sad accident (can huo) | yes | news hotlines | An unclear picture of the victim | none |
| June 9, A14 Two workers were poisoned by the marsh gas | no safety equipment | none | none | news hotlines | none | none |
| June 6, P. 4 A worker fell into a cement mixer | careless | fortunately (kui le) | yes | news hotlines | none | none |

Shandong Commercial News 2010 Accident Reports

| Article | Cause | Language | Voices | News Sources | Pictures | Compliments |
|---|------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------|---|-------------|
| June 7 C6 An air conditioner installer fell from the 4th floor and died” | not wear a safety belt | Here is the air conditioner hanging in the air. It makes people feel sorry and sad that this young guy left the world. The doctors were trying their best to rescue the victim yesterday morning. | none (the victim is dead) | news hotlines | Three pictures were used: one was the accident scene, one was the unused safety belt and the other one showed the doctors rescuing the victim | none |
| July 12, A8 Danger, the crane tower was broken! | unknown | very risky (jingxiang) | yes | news hotlines | One picture showing the accident scene | none |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|------|
| July 13, C15 A worker carelessly sawed through his own femoral artery | careless | They were waiting outside and they were worried (jiao ji) the doctors are saving the victim in a hurry (jin ji) | yes | news hotlines | One picture showing the rescue scene | none |
| July 16, C6 Worrying! Another air condition er installer falls | so many unqualifie d, freelance air condition er installers, and it was difficult to supervise them all | take care (wen nuan ti shi). | none (the victim is dying) | news hotlines | none | none |
| July 22, C7 The ditch collapsed , and the worker was buried | rainwater caused the damage to the mud no protection | worry a lot (shi fen dan xin) | yes | news hotlines | A pictures, in which a worker continued to work in the ditch without any protection was published | none |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|------------------------------------|------------------|--|------|
| July 22, C7 A man fell from a roof, was electrocuted and died | probably an incorrect operation caused the worker's death | unfortunately died (bu xing shen wang) | none (the victim is dead) | news hotlines | A picture of the rescue scene | none |
|--|--|--|------------------------------------|------------------|--|------|